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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

*live book*

## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

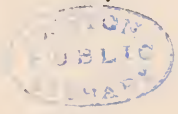
ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

AUGUST 1, 1957

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, AUGUST 1, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

This is a continuation of the hearing which was commenced with William Wallace. Testimony by William Wallace was had on July 23. At that time, an extended statement was made with reference to the particular aspect of legislative inquiry in which the committee is now engaged.

We are particularly concerned with the adequacy of the Communist Control Act of 1954.

During the course of Mr. Wallace's testimony, several names were mentioned. And it was felt by the staff and by the committee that it would be well to bring these folks in and give them an opportunity to comment upon the testimony given by Mr. Wallace.

Now, Judge Morris, if you have anything further to add to that opening statement, you may add it now, if you will. And then we will call the first witness whom you have arranged for this morning.

Mr. MORRIS. I just want to add one thing. Some of the people mentioned in the testimony of Mr. Wallace issued statements at the time which were not under oath.

One of them, Mr. Poleshuck particularly, said some very incriminating things about Mr. Wallace. We felt in fairness to the subcommittee we should have them here under oath.

Senator HRUSKA. Those statements were made following Mr. Wallace's testimony?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. That is fair. It is as fair for this witness to be given an opportunity to elaborate on his comments.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Poleshuck.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. POLESHUCK. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. POLESHUCK; ACCOMPANIED BY  
STANLEY FAULKNER, HIS ATTORNEY**

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter.

Mr. POLESHUCK. Walter S. Poleshuck.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. POLESHUCK. 355 Tower Street, Vauxhall Post Office, Union, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. POLESHUCK. I work at Singer Manufacturing Co., presently employed as a surface grinder.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you worked at Singer Sewing Machine Co.?

Mr. POLESHUCK. Since November 1, 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you at Singer Sewing Machine Co. during the 168-day strike in 1949?

Mr. POLESHUCK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Recently, on July 23 specifically, William Wallace testified that you were a member of the Singer Sewing Machine club of the Communist Party at that particular time.

Were you in fact, Mr. Poleshuck, a member of the Singer Sewing Machine club of the Communist Party?

Mr. POLESHUCK. To that question I will have to exercise the rights granted to me under the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which gives me the right not to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The ground for refusing to answer is considered valid and you are excused from answering at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend meetings of the Singer Sewing Machine club in which plans were made to strike the Singer Sewing Machine Co.?

Mr. POLESHUCK. I am sorry. I did not get the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you present at meetings of the Singer Sewing Machine club of the Communist Party at which plans were discussed whereby Singer Sewing Machine Co. was to be struck?

Mr. POLESHUCK. My answer to that question would be the same as before.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, those are the references Mr. Wallace made to this witness, Mr. Poleshuck, in connection with his testimony.

Now, after Wallace testified, Poleshuck issued a statement saying Mr. Wallace was a liar. We have asked him these same two questions before us. He now claims privilege under the fifth amendment.

I have no further questions of this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. I should like to ask the witness if he has any comment at this time in regard to the testimony given by Mr. Wallace here on July 23.

Mr. POLESHUCK. No comment, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you make comment following the testimony for the benefit of the press or for anything else?

Mr. POLESHUCK. I will confer with my attorney on that question.

On that question, I will be compelled to use my rights not to be a witness against myself under the fifth amendment.



Senator HRUSKA. It is the information of the chairman that the press recorded you as having been interviewed and as having stated that Mr. William Wallace was a liar in connection with the testimony which he gave here concerning you on July 23.

What comment would you have on that, Mr. Poleshuck?

Mr. POLESHUCK. What comment would I have?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. POLESHUCK. No comment.

Senator HRUSKA. Anything further, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No; I have nothing further.

Senator HRUSKA. If not, the witness is excused.

The next witness, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Tushnet.

Counsel, I did not identify you for the record. Will you give your appearance for the record?

Mr. FAULKNER. Stanley Faulkner, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you stand and be sworn?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. TUSHNET. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF LEONARD TUSHNET

Mr. MORRIS. Give you name and address to the reporter.

Dr. TUSHNET. Leonard Tushnet, 572 Prospect Street, Maplewood, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Dr. TUSHNET. I am a physician.

Mr. MORRIS. And you practice in Maplewood, N. J.?

Dr. TUSHNET. I practice in Irvington, N. J. It is nearby.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Dr. Tushnet, we had testimony from Mr. Wallace. He said he attended a meeting at your home.

Mr. BOUDIN. May I ask that pictures not be taken while testimony is being given?

Senator HRUSKA. You may.

And the photographers will be expected to desist therefrom during the course of the actual testimony.

Mr. BOUDIN. My name is Leonard Boudin, 25 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace testified that a meeting was held in your home. Are you acquainted with his testimony?

I could read it to you, if not.

Dr. TUSHNET. I saw that testimony this morning in the transcript.

Senator HRUSKA. You read it over from the transcript which had been prepared for the committee?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. You are familiar with it?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Was a meeting held in your home as described by Mr. William Wallace on July 23 before the subcommittee? And that was approximately in the summer of 1954.

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. It was not held in your home?

Dr. TUSHNET. It was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Wallace testified that there met at your home a man named Moroze.

Did a man named Louis Moroze have a meeting at your home?

Mr. BOUDIN. Are you referring to the same meeting?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Wallace ever attend a meeting at your home?

Dr. TUSHNET. There were no meetings at my home. He was at my home.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, did people meet at your home as he described it in his testimony?

I do not know, Senator, but I think the witness is taking exception to my word "meeting."

Mr. BOUDIN. That is exactly the point.

Mr. MORRIS. Did certain people meet in your home in the summer of 1954?

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Wallace ever meet in your home?

Mr. BOUDIN. Again, we understand the word "meet" has no formal significance.

Mr. MORRIS. They gathered.

Dr. TUSHNET. Repeat that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Wallace ever visit you at your home?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the occasion of his coming to your home?

Dr. TUSHNET. Well, in the summer—in May of 1955, the House Un-American Activities Committee came to Newark, and one of the people that they called to appear before them was my wife.

Mr. MORRIS. What is her name?

Dr. TUSHNET. Fannie Tushnet.

Mr. MORRIS. Frances Tushnet?

Dr. TUSHNET. No; Fannie.

During that time a lot of our friends came to visit us, to assure us of their loyalty and friendship and to ask how they could help us. And during that period, there were a number of people who came to our house in the evenings and afternoons, up until the time of the actual hearings themselves. And on one of those occasions, one of those evenings, William Wallace came with 3 or 4 other people, whom I do not know, to our house.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at that time, Dr. Tushnet, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you been a member of the Communist Party earlier?

Dr. TUSHNET. I think the question is objectionable. And I object on the ground of lack of pertinency, because it invades my rights under the first amendment. And I avail myself of the privileges of the fifth amendment and decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. But you do claim among your claims of privileges the fifth amendment?



Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. That ground is recognized.

The other grounds are overruled.

The witness is excused from answering on the grounds of the fifth amendment, which he asserts.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were chairman of the Committee for the Rosenbergs in Essex and Union County, were you not?

Dr. TUSHNET. It was the Rosenberg Committee in New Jersey, actually. There was no specific county.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

You were chairman of the committee?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, had you earlier attended the 20th annual convention of the Communist Party?

Rather, the 20th anniversary celebration of the Communist Party in Newark, N. J., at Kruger Auditorium on Belmont Avenue on September 24, 1939?

Dr. TUSHNET. In 1939?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Dr. TUSHNET. I decline to answer that question for the grounds—on the grounds of lack of pertinency under my rights of the first amendment, and avail myself of the privileges of the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. The grounds other than those on the fifth amendment are overruled. The refusal to answer on the basis of the fifth amendment is recognized.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Nathan Harris, police officer in Newark, N. J., told the subcommittee yesterday that in connection with his official police duties at that particular time, he was observing the gathering at the 20th annual celebration of the Communist Party in Newark, N. J., at the Kruger Auditorium, and he noticed a man leave his automobile and bring circulars to the convention. And he told us he checked the license plates of the automobile, and the automobile belonged to Dr. Leonard Tushnet, 662 18th Avenue, Irvington, N. J.

Did you live at that 662 18th Avenue, Irvington, N. J., at any time?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you take circulars to the Communist Party convention at that time as Nathan Harris, the police officer, has told the subcommittee?

Dr. TUSHNET. I decline to answer on the same grounds previously stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was it your testimony that, at the time these people gathered at your home, that you were not then a member of the Communist Party?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, had you been a member of the Communist Party a month earlier than that?

Dr. TUSHNET. I think that I will decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was the meeting in your home a meeting of Communists?

Dr. TUSHNET. I don't know what the political affiliations were of the people at my home.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people present on that occasion?

Dr. TUSHNET. It was myself and my wife. There was Frances Nussbaum, Robert Lowenstein, Harry Zimmerman, William Wallace, 3 people he brought with him whom I did not know, and 3 or 4 other people, our friends, who came and went during the course of the evening.

And I must admit that one evening was more or less like another during that period. And I don't recall exactly those people.

Senator HRUSKA. Had any of these people visited you in your home before that?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir. Many of our friends have visited us.

Senator HRUSKA. Did they usually come together in a group like that when they came to visit with you?

Dr. TUSHNET. Well, during that period people came in twos or threes, husbands and wives, friends and acquaintances.

Senator HRUSKA. Did they visit you after that occasion, after the event of the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were they likewise in similar groups or similar combinations?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. As to personalities?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. And on any of these occasions did you discuss the Singer strike which was then going on?

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. What is the period that you are talking about? Are you talking about 1955?

Dr. TUSHNET. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. I see. That would not apply to the Singer strike, which was some time before that.

Mr. BOUDIN. You will note that Mr. Wallace testified that these meetings occurred in 1954 and that his testimony is inaccurate in that respect, as well as in others, as appears from the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Dr. Tushnet, were plans made there for the retention of counsel for the witnesses who were to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Dr. TUSHNET. No, sir; as I recall, we had already engaged counsel for my wife.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was representing your wife?

Dr. TUSHNET. Osmond K. Fraenkel.

Mr. BOUDIN. He is general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace said the discussion was as to who was to represent the three teachers.

Dr. TUSHNET. Robert Lowenstein said he had already spoken to Judge Bigelow.

There were some general discussions about other attorneys who had declined to take the cases. There was a suggestion made that they go to the State Bar Association or to the American Civil Liberties Union. But since the attorney for the American Civil Liberties

Union had already been subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee—

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Dr. TUSHNET. Oxford—it was felt that that was out. And there were no plans made for anyone to hire counsel at that gathering at all.

Mr. BOUDIN. Senator, may I just make one observation? I did not want to interfere with the examination. But I do think it fair to say that I think that it is improper for this committee or any other to make an investigation into the processes by which people select counsel to appear before a House committee or a Senate committee or any other committee.

I think this is something beyond the jurisdiction of this committee, and does, although the committee may not have realized it before, raise a question as to whether it is not interfering directly or indirectly with the right of counsel.

I know that Mr. Wallace testified. I have seen the transcript. It seems to me the testimony is not germane to any bona fide legislative purpose.

I feel the same way about the examination that has been had here today. Regardless of how people select a lawyer, every effort should be made to facilitate the selection of counsel. And it would obviously not facilitate selection of counsel if the choice of counsel were made subject to investigation by a congressional committee.

Mr. MORRIS. May I observe, in connection with what Mr. Boudin has said, that the subcommittee is not inquiring into the circumstances. But this meeting is being held this morning in which Dr. Tushnet is a witness because Dr. Tushnet and others had issued statements to the press taking exception to what Mr. Wallace had said.

Mr. BOUDIN. Of course, I raise the question as to whether the Wallace testimony ever was pertinent to a legislative purpose. And that it was improper to have had Wallace testify to begin with as to how people are selecting counsel.

If that was improper, then no matter what the witnesses have said or other people have said thereafter, it is not proper to continue the investigation. I really think the committee ought to give serious consideration—and I know it would not do something wrong deliberately—to whether it is really proper, whether it really was proper to have gone into the question of how lawyers were selected, whether it was Judge Bigelow or anybody else, and whether it is proper to pursue this investigation with this or any other witness.

I do think that the statements that were made by Judge Bigelow and by Mrs. Nussbaum repudiated in part the statements made by Mr. Wallace. They are in themselves a demonstration of the inadvisability of having witnesses testify in the area of the attorney-client relationship.

I hope the Senator will give serious consideration to the very serious problem which I have raised. And Mr. Morris will, too.

Senator HRUSKA. We are always glad to consider suggestions by counsel. On the other hand, the committee might have its own ideas as to what is pertinent.

I can see where, under some circumstances, either the selection of counsel or the fashion in which they are selected or the furnishing of counsel for others would be pertinent to the inquiry of the committee.

The Chair wants to thank the counsel for his contribution in that regard.

You may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. I notice it is 3 minutes before 10:30. I have just one other thing I would like to offer for the record here. And I suggest that we further take Mr. Boudin's suggestions under consideration and possibly we can make a decision after 10:30.

Were you a trustee for the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New Jersey, Dr. Tushnet?

Dr. TUSHNET. I object to the question and decline to answer on the grounds of lack of pertinency, and my rights under the first amendment, and avail myself of the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. The same ruling will be made as on previous rulings.

May I ask, Mr. Witness, and Mr. Counsel, when you refer to the fifth amendment, do you mean that portion thereof relating to your rights to refuse to be a witness against yourself?

Dr. TUSHNET. That is correct, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. The record should so show, because there are other facets of that amendment.

Mr. BOUDIN. In the light of recent decisions, we are not raising our right under the due process law of the fifth amendment. But you are quite right.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling on the objection.

Mr. MORRIS. I show you that certificate of the Civil Rights bail fund in which it names you as trustee. Can you tell us what that is?

Dr. TUSHNET. I decline to answer for the reason previously given.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer that for the record.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be received for the record. It will be made a part thereof.

(The document above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 487" and is reproduced below:)





Mr. MORRIS. Because the Senate apparently is called in session, may we defer further examination at this moment?

I will talk with counsel as to when we can continue this hearing.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

The witness is excused for the time being.

Are there any further witnesses?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; Monsignor Heimbuch is here.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I do.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Morris, it will be necessary that I leave for a short while. Will you continue the discussion here, and I will rejoin you as soon as I can.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Senator.

### TESTIMONY OF MSGR. WILLIAM C. HEIMBUCH

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Rt. Rev. William C. Heimbuch.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. 52 Smith Street, Elizabeth, N. J., St. Michael's Church.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a monsignor of the Catholic Church?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And were you at St. Michael's Church in 1949 during the Singer Sewing Machine strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Every day.

Mr. MORRIS. And were you in a position to observe the demonstrations and the outcome of that particular strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I was in a very good position; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder, monsignor, if you would tell, if the acting chairman of the subcommittee asked you to, the circumstances that you were able to observe about the Singer Sewing Machine strike in 1949.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I became suspicious from the very beginning. I have quite a few men who are employees of Singer's and who are parishioners of mine. And practically every one of them was satisfied with what they were getting.

Then, we suddenly heard these complaints coming from I don't know where, about the injustices, the conditions at Singer's, something about the incentive plan, and a speed-up, or some similar questions that I never thought existed seriously down there. And this led to what I thought was a very phony strike vote. It was taken at the Elizabeth Armory. I wasn't present but from what I know, you were just handed a paper ballot. I don't think anybody checked or anybody counted.

When it was all over, a report came out that the strikers overwhelmingly are in favor of a strike. And that didn't correspond with what I heard from my men.

So, from that time on, I started to investigate. Then we got peculiar names coming into the picture, who were foreigners to Elizabeth. For instance, there was a Walter Barry, who came around.

And then Marshall Scherer. He is a famous man with a tent.

Walter Barry, I think he came from Newark. He was, I think, supposed to be the sergeant-at-arms. He ran the show.

This Marshall Scherer, he set up a tent right outside the grounds there. And he was supposed to give instructions to the strikers. But what he was actually doing was giving Communist propaganda. It got so bad that in the course of events there, the UE issued a leaflet telling me I should mind my own business; I should not interfere with labor-management conditions; that there were a lot of Catholics in the union, and I was doing them a disservice by what I was doing and saying.

That, in general, is the thing that made me very suspicious and it got me working, too.

MR. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, Monsignor, that you felt the employees of Singer Sewing Machine Co. actually did not want to go on strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Well, I will tell you what they did. They were complaisant. They were indifferent. Here is the attitude they took. I heard this quite often.

You hear them say "I don't give a 'G. D.' who runs my union as long as I get an extra buck in my pay envelope."

I think that was the reason why the strike succeeded. They didn't care who was running the union, just as long as "I get one extra buck in my pay envelope."

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace told us that 20 people he knew to be Communists caused the strike, and that they were the leaders of the strike.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. That is true.

MR. MORRIS. Did you see any evidence of that at all, Monsignor?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I couldn't mention any names. But you could always see that somebody was pulling the strings behind the curtain. A lot of it happened down in that tent.

MR. MORRIS. Now, did this strike cause much damage?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. You mean financially?

MR. MORRIS. To the city of Elizabeth?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Oh, we had a depression. First of all, the strikers lost about \$10 million. The Singer Co. lost \$24 million. The business people lost \$30 million. And that does not take into account all the money they pulled out of their savings account and spent outside of Elizabeth.

I would say the figure was well over \$54 million. From time to time, I used to go into merchants' stores in the Elizabeth area. Time and again they would tell me, "My receipts yesterday were \$2.89," or "\$3.12." And that is what it did to Elizabeth. We were in bad shape, very bad shape.

MR. MORRIS. Now, Mayor James Kirk was the mayor at that time.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. That is right.

MR. MORRIS. He was the mayor from 1939 until 1952?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I think so. He was the mayor at the time.

MR. MORRIS. I spoke to former Mayor Kirk yesterday, Monsignor. And he said in connection with all those figures about damage caused by the strike that he did not take into consideration the large expenditures the city of Elizabeth had to make for things like relief and relief rolls.



Monsignor HEIMBUCH. That would just add to your \$54 million.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what did you do during the strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Well, a fellow by the name of Pat White, I think he was the first one who recognized what we were dealing with.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. He was an employee at Singer's.

He spoke to me very early. He said, "This thing isn't right. I am sure there is Red influence. We ought to do something."

So, he and a number of others tried to organize another union, because the UE was getting nowhere. And Singer was not budging one inch. So, they figured they would have to have a new bargaining agent. And they tried to establish another union. In fact, they got so far that they really had an election.

That election smelled a little bit also. I think it was held down at the Immaculate Heart of Mary's School. I think that is where it was. The voting started at 7 o'clock in the morning. And there had been set up some kind of a deadline or mark beyond which the strikers were not supposed to go, only when voting.

At 10 o'clock I got a call from somebody; I don't know who it was. He said, "You better come down here, the strikers are interfering with the men who want to vote. They are going beyond the line before they should. And they are intimidating the voters."

So, I rushed up to Mayor Kirk, and I got extra police down there. But from 7 until 10 o'clock, I think the independent voters lost at least 300 votes. And the final result was, I think, the UE won that election. I don't know by how many votes, a couple of hundred votes. Nobody will be able to say just how many they lost. But they lost quite a few.

Now, if the independent union had won, that strike, I think, would have been ended in July instead of November.

Mr. MORRIS. Why do you say that?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Because Singer would have bargained with them. I know they would have. And I might add this: During all that period I never had one single contact with Mr. Rawl or any official in the Singer Manufacturing Co. There was never any collusion or meeting. In fact, I never spoke to Mr. Rawl until after the strike was over. But I was accused of being a stooge for the company.

Mr. MORRIS. You wrote a letter to the editor of the Elizabeth Journal after the testimony of Mr. William Wallace; did you not?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to read this letter into the record and ask you questions about it. This is in the Elizabeth Journal of July 26, 1957. [Reading:]

A news item that appeared in all of the daily papers concerning the strike at Singer's in 1949 must have awakened a lot of bitter memories in the minds of our people, and especially in the minds of the men and women who were members of the UE at that time.

The story, which recalls the misery and the suffering so many citizens of Elizabeth endured during this calamity which was inflicted upon us in the name of and under the smokescreen of justice for the laboring man, contains a very valuable lesson. Communism is not dead by any means, and we hope the Supreme Court has not given new life to an evil cause that was gasping for breath in this country.

To say that all Singer union workers were gullible or complaisant would be untrue. But there were enough of them asleep at the switch to enable the Reds and the near-Reds to take over. Anyone who had the temerity to condemn the strike was criticized as an enemy of the workingman and organized labor.



Now, we learn that the strike cost the city \$54 million, and that after 168 days of strike, engineered and masterminded by the Reds, the workers obtained the raise which they were offered when the strike began.

That's a pretty high price to pay for complacency and slumber.

You wrote that letter, did you?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. You mentioned in there that anyone who had the temerity to condemn the strike was criticized as the enemy of the workingman. Have you any experience along that line?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I meant especially myself.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Well, there were letters coming through, anonymous letters, disrespectful letters. And I think one of those letters got to the Elizabeth Journal. And that is the reason for that editorial you have that was written to the Elizabeth Journal. And those organized for the independent union had trouble also.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you personally criticized?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Oh, yes. Oh, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, did you actually oppose the strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Did I what?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you actually oppose the strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Not directly, no.

Mr. MORRIS. What were you doing?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I was trying to get the UE out. That is what I was trying to do. As a bargaining agent.

Mr. MORRIS. You were trying to get an independent union in?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Any union, rather than the UE. I didn't care what it was. I think the IUE was just beginning to be formed at that time. That is not too clear in my mind. That is the one that is down there now. I think they were still in their infancy. At least, they weren't powerful.

Eventually, they won the election. But only after all the damage had been done.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you yourself receive any criticism?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you yourself receive any criticism?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Certainly.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Well, they usually revolved about this idea: Why doesn't a priest mind his own business; that I was interfering with labor-management.

I would like to put this officially: The only reason I interfered was this. I was convinced in the beginning it was not an issue between management and labor; it was an issue between communism and Americanism.

And I felt that as a priest I had a perfect right to interfere. And I didn't hesitate to act. And I didn't hesitate to talk when I thought I was helping the cause of justice.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, I wonder, Monsignor, if you would tell us something of the suffering of the people that you mentioned in that letter.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Well, what I told you about the merchants will give you an idea. In Elizabeth there, you have a lot of prominent stores. If a store takes in \$2 or \$3 a day over a long period, you know what it is going to mean.

And I was getting a lot of complaints from the women, mothers, and sisters and daughters. And eventually that had a lot to do with bringing the real matter to the attention of the people.

I said, "If you people are suffering so much, if you are so much against this strike, why don't you write to the papers?"

And, of course, in time these letters appeared. I think they had a big influence on the final closing of the strike.

You would get a letter signed, "A Heartbroken Mother," "A Destitute Wife," "A Disappointed Sister." And after those things appeared in the paper over a long period of time, everybody seemed to wake up. And eventually we got what we wanted. But only after most of the damage had been done. The women can take a lot of credit.

Mr. MORRIS. Who can take a lot of credit.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. The women. They always get in the picture.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else, Monsignor, you can tell us about that strike?

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. Any particular phase of it?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Anything at all that you can add to what we have already covered.

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. No.

Well, I will mention this: At the time of the strike there was a man by the name of Brennan. He was the head of the union down there. I always figured he was nothing more than a stooge. But they used him as an implement to get after me, because Mr. Brennan was a Catholic.

They said "How can you call this union Red if Mr. Brennan is the head of this union?"

I would put Mr. Brennan in the same class with Mr. Fitzgerald, who is the national director or president of the UE.

They used these Catholic names. And they tried to confuse us and get us off the track.

Now, this Robert Brennan, he had nothing to do with that. He was just a stooge. People like Barry and Scherer were running the strike.

(Discussion off the record.)

Monsignor HEIMBUCH. I think it is a general principle among the Red-tainted unions to try to get a Catholic in some prominent place where he will probably take the edge off of any attack, and say "How come you are so opposed to our union when we have Catholic members at the head of it?"

That is what I mean.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, very much.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. That concludes the testimony.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES  
(Extent of Communist Activity in Labor)

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HEARING  
BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE  
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS  
FIRST SESSION  
ON  
SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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JULY 30, 1957

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PART 77

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, JULY 30, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:25 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order. Will you call the first witness, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldblatt?

I would like the record to show that Mr. Goldblatt has appeared in a short executive session and has been sworn.

Mr. FORER. That's right; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Be seated, Mr. Goldblatt.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS GOLDBLATT, SECRETARY-TREASURER,  
INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S  
UNION, ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH FORER, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, this witness is called this morning in connection with the activity of the ILWU, which is a union concerning which the subcommittee has received evidence that has involved Communist Party activity.

The Internal Security Subcommittee went to Honolulu in November and December 1956 and had extensive hearings on the Communist activity within the ILWU. That, of course, involved mostly the activity of local 142, which is the Hawaiian local of the ILWU.

About 2 months ago, I think it was, a subpoena was issued to Mr. Goldblatt and at that time Mr. Goldblatt was engaged in activity for the union and asked that his appearance be deferred; and subsequently Mr. Goldblatt was having a vacation and again we put off our hearing in order to accommodate Mr. Goldblatt.

Have I stated the situation correctly, Counsel?

Mr. FORER. I believe that is correct.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Generally.

Senator HRUSKA. We can state, counsel, that the appearance of the witness here is pursuant to subpoena.

Mr. FORER. Yes, sir; pursuant to subpoena. I would like the record to show, Senator, that we object to the entire proceeding on the

ground that this inquiry cannot serve a valid legislative purpose and that the committee does not have the power to compel testimony in light of the decisions in the Watkins and Peck cases.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. In that connection, the chairman would like to make this statement by way of showing the connective grounds or connective purposes between the inquiry here and the legislative purposes of the committee.

This is a legislative committee and one of the committee's jobs is the legislative oversight of the Internal Security Act which includes the Communist Control Act of 1954 dealing with Communist activity in labor unions; also other bills dealing with this question of Communist infiltration of labor unions have been referred to this subcommittee because the question is one which affects the internal security of our country.

The committee has a duty and obligation to the Senate to arrive at sound legislative recommendations in this area of legislative purposes, and in order to know whether additional legislation is needed or desired to deal with the problem of Communist infiltration of labor unions and if so, what kind of legislation. For this purpose this subcommittee needs to have as much information as it can get respecting Communist activity in the labor field, Communist efforts to infiltrate the labor unions and Communist connections and activities of union officials in particular.

The subcommittee therefore, Mr. Witness, is interested in any and all associations you may have had with the Communist Party while you were a labor union official. Such association as membership would have a bearing on your qualifications and your ability to testify as to these things which I have already mentioned.

The subcommittee is informed that you were at one time an instructor in the Workers' School at 463 Hayes Street in San Francisco where you taught the subject, "Youth in the Class Struggle."

The committee is interested in this and other information because the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Yates cases indicates the necessity for revision of the Smith Antisubversion Act; and in order to make intelligent legislative recommendations in that area, the subcommittee needs to know as much as possible about what has been taught and what is being taught in Communist Party schools.

We understand also that you at that time, in the Western Summer School for Workers in Berkeley, taught the "Future of the CIO" and other subjects.

You may be asked, during the course of this inquiry, about your present connection, if any, with the world Communist controversy.

This subcommittee is very much interested in the problem presented by Communist infiltration of key labor unions and is anxious to learn as much as possible about how Communist activity in this field is carried on and how labor unions are used to further Communist objectives.

We want to know all these things as a basis for making legislative recommendations for the protection of the internal security of the United States.

Your union, because of its highly strategic position in the political and economic life of Hawaii, is in a position to have special impact, through its actions, on the security of the United States, and thus the

problem presented by Communist infiltration through your union or through any of the officials of your union is of particular interest to this committee in its special office as a factfinding and recommending body for the entire Congress.

You may be asked questions about your knowledge of the use of union funds for the defense of Communists, because this is one facet of the problem of Communist infiltration of unions and the utilization of unions for Communist purposes and the attainment of Communist objectives, with respect to which this committee is seeking to determine facts which may form the basis for legislative recommendations.

That is the preliminary statement whereby we hope that you can readily see the connection between these inquiries and the legislative purposes of this committee, and we will go on from there.

You may proceed with your questions, Judge Morris, unless there are some observations or some questions that either the witness or counsel may have with reference to the purposes of this committee and the special purposes of this hearing this morning.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, has the witness a copy of Resolution 366?

Mr. FORER. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Counsel likewise is familiar therewith and has studied same?

Mr. FORER. I have studied it. I have never been able to understand it any more than I can understand your general statement.

Senator HRUSKA. At least you were given an opportunity to observe it and be guided by your own conclusions with reference to both of them?

Mr. FORER. Yes; that's right. After studying it I am convinced it is too vague to support the legislative function of this committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldblatt, will you give your name and address for the public record?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. My name is Louis Goldblatt. Address, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I am the secretary-treasurer of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. It is a trade union.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members does it have?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Oh, approximately 65,000.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is its headquarters?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. In San Francisco.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you can tell us where some of the more important locals of the ILWU are located?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. The principal membership of the union is along the western seaboard, in the States of California, Oregon, and Washington. We have a substantial membership in Hawaii. We have members in Alaska, some in British Columbia.

Senator HRUSKA. How long have you been associated with the union, Mr. Goldblatt?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have been a member of the union since 1935.

Senator HRUSKA. What have been your various capacities in that union?



Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have held the position of vice president of the Warehouse Local 6, of which I am a member. I have served as international representative for some time. I was elected international secretary-treasurer around 1943.

Senator HRUSKA. How long has it been that you have been a full-time officer or employee of the union?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Of the ILWU? 1942, 1943 or 1941, thereabouts.

Senator HRUSKA. How long have you been secretary-treasurer?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Since 1943.

Senator HRUSKA. How far east does your union have locals at the present?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have small locals in Chicago, New Orleans, Washington, D. C. Those are comparatively insignificant.

Senator HRUSKA. Have any efforts been made to extend the number of locals and your jurisdiction into other parts of the country in recent days?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Where? We are always organizing, if that is what you mean.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you any special drive at the present time or in recent months, for example, in the southern part of the country or the eastern part of the country?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you made efforts to get into the New York area in recent months?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No, we haven't.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you conducted any negotiations or any transactions preliminary to getting into the New York area?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know what you mean by that, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you a representative in New York representing your union and interested in its establishment in the New York area?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have an observer in New York. He is not there for the purpose of trying to organize workers in New York.

Senator HRUSKA. What is his name?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. His name is Charles Velson.

Mr. MORRIS. I think the record should show, Senator, that Mr. Velson has appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee, and when questions were asked him about his connections with the Communist Party he refused to answer, claiming his privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I might add that the workers in New York, the longshoremen, for example, are very well organized and seem to be doing quite well.

Mr. MORRIS. How much money does Mr. Velson have, to carry out his activities which you described as observer?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Mr. Morris, I intended to decline to answer any questions concerning finances, and if you will allow me, I would like to explain why.

Senator HRUSKA. You will be permitted to state your reasons.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. For the past year and a half, I believe, or at least a year and 4 or 5 months, there have been 2 agents of the Department of Internal Revenue who have been ferreting through our books and records, our financial records. They have indicated that they have varied purposes in doing this research job on our records.

Frankly, we suspect their motives, and we think that they are trying to build some sort of a case against our union.

About 2 months ago 2 agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation called upon me and notified me that they were there, pursuant to the instructions of warrant only, to investigate whether or not the financial return we filed with the Department of Labor each year was a fraudulent one, and on the following specific bases at least: Namely, that in 1952 the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision against us in the so-called Juneau Spruce case, which was a suit for damages that arose out of a strike in Alaska. The judgment was for a million dollars.

The truth of the matter is, we did not list that as a liability when we filed our financial statement with the Department of Labor.

Of course, that merely indicates the fantastic extremes to which some people in the Government are going to try to rig some sort of charge against us.

There are no accusations, there have been none, and I am sure there will never be any about personal malfeasance in office or misappropriation of funds or some of the other scandalous activities that have recently been making the headlines around the country.

There are none such against any of the officials of the ILWU, nor will there ever be.

However, it is quite apparent to me and to our entire union that these efforts on the part of the Department of Internal Revenue and the efforts on the part of the Federal Bureau of Investigation are part of a pattern of continuous harassment against this union.

Consequently, I don't intend to answer any questions concerning funds.

Mr. MORRIS. On what grounds?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. On the grounds just given and the privileges accorded me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. May I point out that the privilege under the fifth amendment is a privilege that adheres to you personally; and as far as the union finances are concerned, you cannot, on behalf of the union, claim that privilege for the union.

If you are going to claim the privilege under the fifth amendment, it means you, personally, are saying that if you answer the question you might possibly incriminate yourself, not the union.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Mr. Morris, I am the one who makes the returns to the Department of Labor as secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. You feel, as a possibility of personal responsibility, you decline to answer that question?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. For the grounds just given. I know they are rather lengthy, but I thought you were entitled to the explanation.

Mr. MORRIS. The grounds given to include the privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Definitely.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman would like to point out that the use of union funds by anyone who represents your union who might be active in the Communist Party is definitely a part of our inquiry. We feel that it serves a legislative purpose.

We want to know if there has been any connection between any of the unions and the funds which they have and the Communist Party and whether one is being used by the other.

Therefore, we feel that that is a legitimate objective of inquiry and that it will serve a definite legislative purpose.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Senator, if you will get the Department of Internal Revenue and the FBI off our backs and stop them on this ferreting and harrassment and what we think is a deliberate frameup program against the union, I will answer all questions on finances until the cows come home or dust falls around here.

Senator HRUSKA. Any activities in which they are engaged are presumably legal activities, activities in which they are engaging pursuant to law and in compliance with the general statutory provisions. It is difficult for this committee to reach out and assume to have any jurisdiction over their activities.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I wish I could agree with you. I am not, of course, here to argue with you, but we don't believe their activities are in keeping with their function and duties.

We saw 20 years of deliberate, repeated, trials and harrassment of the president of our union on exactly the same charges and same trumped-up evidence. Finally the matter has been put to rest, but that was 20 years of persecution of the man.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, the reason for asking that question of this particular witness was because we have information that Mr. Velson, the person to whom reference has been made, has been spending money trying to exert the power of the ILWU on the east coast. We got various reports as to the extent of this and we have no way of determining exactly how much he has been given by the union unless we ask the secretary-treasurer of the union. It is information we require for the continuance of our investigations.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have answered your question, Judge Morris, regarding any efforts to organize on the east coast. We are not trying to organize on the east coast.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. Have you further questions, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Senator.

Can you tell us how many members there are in the ILWU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have given you the answer to that question. It is approximately 65,000. It varies seasonally, by the way.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are you acquainted with a recent visit of some ILWU clerks to the east coast?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I am.

Mr. MORRIS. There is a reference to it in the Dispatcher, which is the official publication of your union, is it not?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. I have before me the Dispatcher of June 7, 1957, and it reports an item that "ILA officials welcome visiting ILWU clerks."

Could you tell us about that visit?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Why don't you read the Dispatcher's story into the record? It is all there.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you know more about it than appears in the Dispatcher. I ask you to answer the question as a witness.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Is there any particular aspects of that visit that puzzle you?



Mr. MORRIS. Is that representative of the activity of the ILWU on the east coast and if so, what is the purpose?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Any visit is a form of activity; just the very fact that you take an airplane, that is a form of activity.

Senator HRUSKA. What was the purpose of the visit?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. As I tried to explain to Judge Morris, it is all covered in the Dispatch. I can supplement it here if you wish.

Senator HRUSKA. We would rather have your testimony than that of the publication.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. The west-coast longshoremen, clerks, and walking bosses contract was opened this spring for a wage review—not just confined to wages, but welfare and several other aims were included, matters of the penalty rates and skill differentials, and so forth.

One of the issues that was pending in that wage review which was subject to negotiations and in the event of a deadlock would then go to arbitrations, was the wages paid to ship clerks.

I hope you will bear with me; it is a little bit complicated, but I will try to simplify it because it is a subject concerning longshoremen and clerks, but I am sure you will get the full impact of the visit of these clerks to the east coast.

The longshoremen of the west coast work under a basic 6-hour-day provision; namely, the 6-hour day is work performed from 8 a. m. to 3 p. m. They are paid at the straight-time rate for that 6-hour period and all work thereafter is on the overtime rate, including nights, Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. That is the hourly provision of the longshoremen.

The ship clerks, who work side by side with each of the longshoremen either in the receiving or checking of cargo on the dock or in the hold of the vessel—depending upon the nature of the operations, and that varies with different commodities—have a basic 8-hour day; namely, they will work from 8 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon before their overtime starts. That has resulted in a certain disparity in their take-home pay at the end of 8 hours, for obvious reasons.

Although the ship clerks have been making 10 cents an hour more than the longshoremen on their hourly rate of pay, when it came to the end of 8 straight-time hours, the ship clerk had lagged behind the longshoremen in the terms of the total amount of take-home pay. It is easy to take pencil and paper and figure that out.

Consequently, they, the clerks, were preparing for their negotiations and they had a plan to effect parity. There were two ways of trying to determine parity. One was to recompute the ship clerks' wages so as to give them the same take-home pay based on 6 hours of straight time and 2 hours of overtime that the longshoremen had. And the other way would be to convert the 8 hours to 6 hours straight and 2 hours overtime. That would be the second. The second one would be extremely inconvenient to the shipowner and shippers: the reason for that being that the substantial section of ship clerks, perhaps as much as 70 percent of them, work in conjunction with the teamster deliveries or pickups on the docks, and the teamsters are on an 8-hour day, so a changeover to a 6-hour day would have dislocated too many things in terms of computation of wages and so on.

The other way of measuring parity, therefore, was to try to measure the ship clerks' conditions on the west coast with comparable working conditions with the same companies on the east coast.

Bear in mind the work is identical. In other words, the ship clerk checking cargo in San Francisco is doing exactly the same work as the ship clerk does in checking cargo in New York or Newark.

Senator HRUSKA. What is the interest of the ILWU in the eastern wage scale? Have you jurisdiction there or are—

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No, the men do identically the same work and identically for the same companies.

Senator HRUSKA. What interest has your union in the wage structure on the east coast?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. They always have a certain relationship to each other. They do the same work. The same is true with the seaman's wages on the east coast; it has a direct relationship to the seaman's wages on the west coast.

Senator HRUSKA. Unless you have locals on the east coast, unless you have some jurisdiction on the east coast, I just wondered what is your interest on the east coast wages?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Jurisdiction is of no importance. Let me give you an example.

Assuming there were two General Motors plants—both of them in Detroit. One happened to be in one union and the other happened to be in a different union. Obviously, these workers are directly interested and affected by the wage scales and conditions in each one of these General Motors plants.

All that a shipping company is, if I can explain this to you, a shipping company and a ship is only a floating factory or floating warehouse; so that companies like the American President Lines, Matson, Luckenbach, Moore-McCormack, Pope-Talbot, Isbrandtsen, and I could go on and on and on. These companies operate off both these coasts. The work is identical, the longshore work is identical.

We believe that the ship clerk work is identical, and if you will let me finish my point I think you will understand the significance of this visit.

It was our opinion that the only possible argument that the Pacific Maritime Association, the employers, would have in arbitration on the issue of the ship clerks' wages, would be for one reason or another the work was completely different. In other words, we were fearful that the employers would come along and say, "It is true that the ship clerks on the east coast work an 8-hour day. The same is true with the ship clerks on the west coast. However, their work is arranged slightly different. Their duties vary a bit and therefore the disparity in wages is not unjustified."

Consequently, this delegation was of extreme importance to study the operation and find out whether the functions of a ship clerk, supervisory clerk, or checker happened to be identical on the east coast for the same companies as they were on the west coast.

Incidentally, they discovered that they were, and I am sure the committee will be very happy to hear that when the case went to arbitration, in addition to getting across-the-board increases that the longshoremen got, the clerks got an additional 5 cents an hour to close



the difference and disparity between themselves and the longshoremen and the east coast clerks.

It was a very successful venture.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your answer to the question that the clerks came east to study the conditions and learn these factors?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was the purpose of it.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it one of the objectives of the ILWU to secure a common expiration date to terminate contracts?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is not merely our objective, that is the objective of the House Merchant Fisheries Committee. That is the objective of the Federal Maritime Board; that is the objective of a substantial number of east coast employers and I know that it is the objective of the west coast employers.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the purpose of that?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. The purpose is clearly explained—

By the way, perhaps the best thing for this committee to do—I would like to talk about these things because I think it is important that the entire committee and the Senate, of course, being interested in the stability of the maritime industry, should know about these things. It is a lengthy subject. There were exhaustive hearings held on this and it might be well to enter this into the record.

Mr. MORRIS. You are referring to the Bonner committee report?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. We are cognizant of that.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. You are what?

Mr. MORRIS. We are cognizant of that report.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I see. Then you understand the value of the common expiration date. It would be of tremendous value to the industry as a whole. It would be of benefit to the unions. It would stop what is commonly called the "whipsaw," and other expressions, "whiplash," the "stepladder," and so forth.

We have a situation in the maritime industry right now where different unions have different expiration dates. There is a continuous maneuvering where every union wants to be last in negotiations. The reason is quite obvious: If everybody else has settled, a comparatively small group of men, even a handful of men, think they have an economic strength over the proportion of their numbers. It results in collective bargaining by maneuver instead of by merits. It unstabilizes the industry. We know it has done a tremendous amount of damage to intercoastal trade which we think is one of the aspects of the industry which should be revived. It is moving ahead, but what it needs more than anything is some stability.

Mr. MORRIS. It does make it possible to have an industrywide strike, does it not, universal in nature?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. You don't need a common expiration date to have an industrywide strike.

Mr. MORRIS. It would be much more difficult to have an industrywide strike when having different terminal dates on the east coast and on the west coast?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's not true. Any unionman worthy of his salt won't handle a scab ship, contract or no contract. That is our position.

Mr. MORRIS. You are acquainted with the strike that the ILWU carried on in Honolulu in 1950?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was not in 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. 1949?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. But it lasted into 1950?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what duration was that strike?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was a lollapalooza. That strike lasted almost 6 months.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have working on the islands of Hawaii three different groups, do you not? The sugar plantation workers, the pineapple workers and the longshoremen.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's right.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't strike the three groups, did you?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have a fourth group, too—miscellaneous workers.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't strike all categories of your workers, did you?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was a strike of longshoremen only. And I would like to point out to the committee that there were only two issues in that strike, no others.

I know the committee has been there, and I wish the committee had taken the time to find out a little more about that 1949 strike. It was extremely important. It had certain basic sociological issues. We think that it actually involved the fundamental issue of economic status. The basic issue in that strike was that the longshoremen in Hawaii were being paid 42 cents an hour less than the longshoremen on the west coast, leaving aside other conditions, the question of hiring hall, grievance machinery, load limitations and other aspects of the contract, and the basic 6-hour day which prevails on the west coast as against the 8-hour day in Hawaii, leaving aside all those, the longshoremen in Hawaii were being paid 42 cents an hour less for doing exactly the same work on the same cargo for the same shippers as the longshoremen on the west coast.

All they were trying to do in the course of that strike was not eliminate that entire differential but to narrow that gap somewhat.

I know a great deal about it because I happened to live with almost that entire strike outside of a short period.

The longshoremen on the west coast had just gotten a 15-cent-an-hour wage boost when the contract in Hawaii was opened. I had indicated to the employers any number of ways that they could have made an offer, even slightly in excess of the 15 cents, that if they made an offer of, say, 16 cents, which would have closed the gap between Hawaii and the mainland by 1 penny—and at that rate it would have been some 42 years for the Hawaii longshoremen to get the same basic wages for the same work as the west coast men—if they had made 1 penny in addition to the 15 cents, we would have been inclined to settle and not strike.

The employers' position was adamant. They refused to grant even the 15 cents. The best offer and final offer was 12 cents, which would have widened the gap to 45 cents as against the west coast longshoremen.

The strike began. The other proposal to go was to submit the issue to arbitration. The employers conducted a vitriolic campaign action, a fantastic campaign, and I think that is one of the things

that this committee ought to investigate, which by the time they got through, identified arbitration with anarchy, communism, free love, and atheism. You couldn't tell the difference between any of them.

Just a simple question of arbitration, something that exists in industries all over the country, something that the Matson Co. adheres to in San Francisco.

Incidentally, Senator and Judge, there happened to be some special hearings conducted by the Senate Labor Committee sometime during that strike, the latter part—I am not sure of the exact months, either August or September, 1949—when these questions were asked, when the then Secretary of the Department of Labor Tobin urged arbitration. He was pilloried by the press. Senator Morse urged arbitration. He too was attacked. And when a Federal judge of San Francisco happened to gratuitously remark in the course of one of their hearings that perhaps arbitration was the solution, he, too, was ignored.

Now, the final outcome is this, Judge: It was a 6-month's strike and a very bitter strike. I know you took a lot of testimony in Hawaii that certain people suffered. I would like to make this very plain, and I would like to have this in the record, Judge, that nobody suffered during that strike like the longshoremen did. They are the men who had to do without. They are the ones who really took the brunt of it and they never broke ranks; not a single man went back to work.

Mr. MORRIS. The islanders suffered very greatly, did they not?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't think so. I think that a lot of the stories are exaggerated, and fabricated and I think the committee itself was terribly delinquent in a failure to get more accurate information.

What is the score today? The situation today is as follows:

Approximately a year ago we signed an agreement in Hawaii which closed down the last chapter of the 1949 Hawaii longshoremen's strike. That agreement provided for a 5-year extension of contract with certain automatic progressions and wages, so that, at the end of 5 years, the longshoremen in Hawaii will be getting exactly the same wages as the longshoremen on the west coast. And during the interim, any wage adjustments that are made for the west coast longshoremen automatically apply in Hawaii.

So that in our last arbitration we got an 8-cent increase that automatically applied to Hawaii, plus an augmented amount to help eliminate a differential.

Senator HRUSKA. That is all very interesting, I am sure, in its proper setting. It is almost fascinating. But it is a long way from New York, which is what we are concerned with here.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have been belayed for this 1949 strike and yet history has proven we were right; history has proven that the employers had no business forcing this strike and history has proven that the economy down there can pay those wages instead of trying to classify those citizens in a second-class position.

Senator HRUSKA. This, I think, is important and interesting; but it has little connection with your union in New York.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I think that the judge—

Senator HRUSKA. This is far beyond the purpose of this inquiry.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I didn't ask that question; the judge asked that question.



Senator HRUSKA. I am aware of that, but let's get back to the New York situation, because that is the particular area in which we are inquiring.

Have you any further questions about that situation, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No; I have questions about the WFTU which I was leading up to.

Senator HRUSKA. How long has Mr. Velson been your representative on the east coast?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't recall the exact date, Senator. I think around 1954, thereabouts.

Senator HRUSKA. And what are his assigned duties, what is his sphere of activity?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. He is an observer. As I said before, we are not trying to organize the east coast. He is an observer for the ILWU.

There are a number of things that occur on the east coast and in other ports that have a very direct and important interest to us.

For example, we have been extremely anxious to follow the workings of the Waterfront Commission. We think it is an extremely unjust body. We think it presents a real menace not only to the longshoremen who are compelled to work under its aegis, but to other longshoremen throughout the country.

We would not like to see any such body on the west coast. We want all the information we can get about its operation, and on that score, Mr. Velson provides a very great service. We know a great deal now about its method of blacklisting and discrimination and its method used for strikebreaking, too, and they boast about it.

We went through a similar situation with the Coast Guard on the west coast. We struggled with that problem for some, oh, 6, 7 years. We knew the whole thing was illegal because we had talked to eminent attorneys on the matter. They had gone through the thing in great detail. They told us the entire proceeding was illegal. In the meantime, the Coast Guard went along and blacklisted all kinds of men, screened them off the ships. They tried to apply the same regulations to the longshoremen and succeeded in part, I will admit, but not entirely.

Senator HRUSKA. Who is associated with Mr. Velson in his activities on behalf of your union?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. He is our only representative in New York.

Senator HRUSKA. He is your only representative. Have you any other representatives on the east coast?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have a Washington representative, yes.

Senator HRUSKA. What is his name?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Jeff Kibre.

Senator HRUSKA. How long has he been in that capacity? Is he an observer?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No, he is a lobbyist.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, Velson; what does Velson have as his prescribed duties or activities?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, I don't know exactly what you mean by that.

Senator HRUSKA. What else does he do besides observe in the type of operation to which you have already referred?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Not only matters of the waterfront commission; there are a lot of new operations going into effect on the east coast. Those are operations that have to do with new devices and methods

of handling cargo, the piggyback method, for example, the roll-on, roll-off method. They will be introduced primarily in intercoastal trade. They will affect our work. It is important that we find out all we can about it—the men being used, the longshore gang size. He tries to keep an eye on contracts on the east coast, the negotiations. They, too, have an impact on the longshoremen of the west coast.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the association of you and your longshoremen with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. At the present moment we have no association with them.

Mr. MORRIS. You have attended their meetings of WFTU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Your union has been affiliated with the WFTU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. For a short while we were affiliated with the maritime division.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the WFTU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been to their meetings. Will you tell us about them?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. It is a federation of trade unions from different countries. It claims some 80 million members.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it Communist controlled?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, did you encounter at these meeting you have attended persons you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Let me put it this way: When I attended the first meeting of the maritime division of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Marseilles, there were present representatives from longshoremen's unions in France, Italy, Holland; there were some from the Soviet Union, from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, I believe; there were some representatives from Australia.

Mr. MORRIS. I will reframe the question.

Have you yourself been a Communist?

Mr. FORER. I am going to object to that question as obviously having nothing to do with the claimed legislative purpose of this committee.

Doesn't this committee learn something from the decisions in the Peck case, and so forth? Obviously, the witness is here ready, willing, and anxious to talk about the activities of the ILWU, and now you are switching to what amounts to a personal inquisition of the witness.

I don't think that the Congress is interested in that or has a right to be interested in that.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, by way of giving some background to that question, we have extensive evidence to date showing that the Communist Party and the Communist International Organization has operated within the ILWU. We have further sworn testimony to the effect that the witness here today has been a Communist. We are trying to determine whether or not he is qualified to tell us whether or not Communists are in fact working within the ILWU, of which he is the secretary-treasurer.

I think it is a necessary question in order to support the testimony of the witness.



Mr. FORER. Senator, if Mr. Morris is going to talk publicly about witnesses that have talked against my client, I ask that they be produced here so that I can cross-examine them.

If that is not the procedure, I don't think we should go into the subject at all, because I don't think it has a legislative function.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, have you stated in full the extent of your reasons why you don't—

Mr. FORER. I stated my objections, the reasons why; yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. I will overrule that refusal to answer on the grounds assigned and I will instruct the witness to answer.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. That wasn't the question, Senator.

"Have you been a Communist" is the question.

Mr. FORER. Do you want to make that a little less vague?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you in the past been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I am sorry, I got the question wrong.

I would like to state that on that particular question I think that it not only has no good legislative purpose, I believe that it is simply investigation for investigation's sake alone and I will decline to answer that question based upon those reasons and on the recent decisions of the Supreme Court as well as upon the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. I will overrule all of the assigned reasons except the fifth amendment.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Incidentally, I ought to make another point here and I think you ought to be aware of it, Senator.

I believe that committee counsel and the committee itself is aware of the fact that our union has been in compliance with Taft-Hartley for a number of years past, at least since 1949, I believe, and during that entire period we have continued in compliance with Taft-Hartley and that includes the officers signing a non-Communist affidavit.

Your committee is aware of those things.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair will rule that all of the objections and the grounds for refusing to answer except the fifth amendment are overruled, and inasmuch as one of the grounds is considered valid and recognized, you are not required to answer the question.

Have you any further questions, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to know whether the witness was a Communist at the time he received notice that he was to appear here for testimony.

Mr. FORER. When you say the "witness was a Communist," the definition of "Communist" varies a great deal.

As a matter of fact, the court says that the term is too vague to be made the basis of an indictment.

Can you tell us what you mean when you say "a Communist"?

Mr. MORRIS. What were your connections with the Communist Party when you received notice in May or June of this year that you would appear before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is vaguer yet.

Mr. MORRIS. You can't tell us what your connection with the Communist Party was at that time?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know what you mean.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have already answered those questions.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have answered the question. I have told you I am not a member of the Communist Party. I have told you that this union has been in compliance with Taft-Hartley since 1949. We have signed the affidavits.

What are you trying to do? Are you merely trying to entrap me? I hope that isn't the purpose of this hearing.

Senator HRUSKA. The witness is here to answer questions, not to ask them, Mr. Goldblatt.

Do you want to assert your grounds previously assigned? If you do, say so, there will be a ruling and we will go on to the next question.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. O. K. I assert the ground previously stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, the objections are all overruled except the resort to the fifth amendment and that will be accepted as valid ground for not answering.

You may proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever used the name "Louis Miller" as an alias?

Mr. FORER. On behalf of the witness I object to that question as impertinent and again not fulfilling a legislative purpose.

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is overruled and the witness is instructed to answer unless he has any further ground for refusing to answer.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't think it serves a good legislative purpose at all. I am beginning to get somewhat concerned about counsel here and efforts I think are being made to entrap me.

I am going to stand on the same grounds I gave before.

Senator HRUSKA. The grounds are overruled with the exception of the fifth amendment which is recognized as a valid reason for refusing to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldblatt, can you tell us how many Communists there are in the ILWU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Let me explain, counsel, that we have a constitution which prohibits discrimination because of race, creed, color, or political belief. We don't conduct a political saliva test before a person becomes a member.

The employers hire people; we only organize them. We don't ask the employers who they hire because, in many cases, we don't have much to say about it.

Mr. MORRIS. You have a lot to say about the selection of the officials of the union?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have very, very little to say.

Mr. MORRIS. Of your own union?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I said—you said "If I have anything to say?"

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Do I have anything to say—the answer is "No." If you will study the constitution, because we feel very strongly that ours is perhaps one of the cleanest, most democratic, and somewhat aggressive unions in the entire country. We have a provision

for election of officials by referendum, and that is an entire vote of the membership.

Nominations take place in a convention and a man can nominate himself for any office, and then those nominees go to the membership for referendum election.

We have a provision in our constitution that if the membership doesn't like the officials, the signatures of 15 percent of the members recall any officer and he is compelled to stand trial and then the findings of that trial are forwarded to the membership.

Senator HRUSKA. The question, Mr. Goldblatt, is: How many of your ILWU members are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was not the question. He asked me how much influence I had over the selection of officials. I told him I didn't have any.

Senator HRUSKA. That was a later question.

Mr. MORRIS, would you like to restate the basic question?

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, Mr. Goldblatt, how many persons in the ILWU are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I have answered that question. We don't conduct political tests; we have no way of knowing.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party at which were present officials of the ILWU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's a little different question.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your answer to that question?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Would you repeat that once again?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party at which were present officials of the ILWU?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have already given.

Senator HRUSKA. The grounds are overruled with the exception of the fifth amendment, which is recognized as a valid ground for refusal to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. With how many officials of the ILWU have you attended Communist Party meetings?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's really a "When did you stop beating your wife" question.

I will refuse on the same grounds, and I think committee counsel is not trying to pursue any legislative inquiry but simply making efforts to entrap me.

Senator HRUSKA. The grounds asserted having been the same, the chairman's ruling is the same as previously given.

Do you have further questions, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I have a question, Senator.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union conducted an odyssey to Washington recently to attend a trade convention, did it not?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. An "odyssey" is an interesting word to use there.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the word you would use?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, I would like to have your definition of odyssey. I have always been interested in semantics.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that delegation——

Mr. GOLDBLATT. An odyssey has concern with many vicissitudes such as trying to get your way between Scylla and Charybdis, or the

onus of Circe, which must have been a pleasant diversion on the part of Ulysses.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a delegation in Washington?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes; there was a delegation in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. What did it do and what was its purpose?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. The purpose of the delegation was to—in pursuance of our convention action, our international convention met in the month of April.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1957?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes. And among other resolutions that were discussed and acted upon, there was one on the promotion of trade, and that included trade with all countries. As the committee must be aware, of course, trade is the lifeblood of our union. The greater the trade volume, the more secure our employment, the greater the job opportunities.

The convention also elected a delegation that would go to Washington and in effect do everything possible to promote the idea of trade with all countries of the world, including China. That was its purpose.

Mr. MORRIS. Wasn't the emphasis on China trade?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes; a good deal, because that is one of the places we ought to open up.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean free China or occupied China?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Who is occupying what?

Mr. MORRIS. The Communists are occupying the mainland.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I thought Chiang Kai-shek was occupying Formosa.

Mr. MORRIS. When I use the word "China," I am asking you which term you use.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. All China.

Senator HRUSKA. The mainland as well as Formosa?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Of course, of course, sure.

Mr. MORRIS. You are interested in promoting trade with China, you mean trade with the Government of China with its headquarters in Taiwan?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know whether it would be the Government; it would be trade with China.

Mr. MORRIS. You consider that part of the trade program that you would promote?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Of course, of course. Incidentally, we are not the only ones in favor of this. Why don't you read the Pacific Ship Owner, the owners' publication? They are in favor of that.

Henry Ford III is in favor of opening up China trade.

Mr. MORRIS. What exactly did the delegation do?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. They talked to Senators, Congressmen, people at the White House.

Mr. MORRIS. Presenting the facts?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. And figures.

Mr. MORRIS. What were some of the facts presented to the various people you mentioned?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. As I recall, Judge—I don't have them on hand—I think you asked for a copy of the letter and documentation of material that was sent to some Senators and Congressmen in support of the delegation's position; isn't that right?



Mr. MORRIS. That's right.

I would like to offer a paper, Senator, "United States Expansion of Trade in the Pacific Area," to the witness and ask if that is a publication of the ILWU.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That was; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many people made up the delegation?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Either 6 or 7. If you have a copy of our trade union paper, the Dispatch, I think it gives the names.

Mr. MORRIS. May that go into the record as identified by the witness as a summary of the activities of the delegation that went to Washington related to increased trade with Communist Red China?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. It is not a summary of their activities.

Mr. MORRIS. What is it?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. It is sort of a brief, factual documentation of why we think trade ought to be with China.

Senator HRUSKA. I think it will speak for itself. It will be received, having been duly identified by the witness.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 512" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 512

#### UNITED STATES EXPANSION OF TRADE IN THE PACIFIC AREA

(Submitted by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, Calif., June 24, 1957)

#### INTRODUCTION

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has traditionally favored the widest possible trade between the United States and all other countries of the world. This policy of the ILWU, repeatedly endorsed at conventions and executive board meetings, has been reiterated because of our belief that trade (1) reduces world tensions and helps make for a more peaceful world, (2) helps make for more jobs for members of this union, and (3) contributes to a healthier economic situation within the United States as a whole.

In recent years, because our emphasis has been on trade in the Pacific area, the ILWU has been especially concerned with the United States embargo policy on trade with China. This has been one of the main deterrents to stimulating commercial trade, as distinguished from military or Government-subsidized trade, in that part of the world. It is trade with which the west-coast ports are most intimately concerned. For this reason and because currently reopening China trade has become a matter of debate and discussion in Government, business, and trade circles in the United States, the following memorandum deals exclusively with various aspects of United States-China trade.

#### WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR CHINA TRADE

Support for opening up trade with China is widespread throughout significant trade, business, and other similar circles on the west coast today. The ILWU, in the course of its own activities, has systematically contacted representatives of shipping, forwarding, and manufacturing firms, of chambers of commerce, banks, and trade groups on the west coast, to learn their attitude toward ending the United States boycott. A sampling of opinion shows the following:

(a) The world trade department of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, speaking through its manager, James L. Wilson, declared that "San Francisco businessmen would like to see the China embargo partially lifted" (San Francisco Chronicle, June 9, 1957).

(b) George E. Talmadge, Jr., vice president of Pacific Transport Line-States Lines, speaking as president of the Bay Area World Trade Association, indicated the need for changing the United States "no trade" policy (San Francisco Chronicle, June 9, 1957).



(c) The Pacific-coast foreign traders advisory committee to the United States Department of Commerce, at its semiannual meeting in April 1957, forcibly indicated the need for an immediate review of the United States-China embargo policy, looking toward reviving trade with that country.

(d) Such major lumber producing and exporting firms of the Pacific Northwest as Daut-Russell and Georgia-Pacific Plywood indicated to ILWU representatives their active interest in opening up lumber trade with China.

(e) The First National Bank of Portland, in a letter to this union, indicated its support for opening trade, and so informed Senator Magnuson (Democrat, Washington).

(f) Shippers in various major ports of the west coast favor expanding trade through opening up the China market. But, like many of the steamship operators, according to newspaper accounts " \* \* (they) are reluctant to join in such a statement because most lines are subsidized by the Government" (San Francisco Chronicle, June 9, 1957).

(g) Such diversified publications as the following have carried editorials urging a reexamination of the United States trade-embargo policy and indicating their own sympathy with opening up trade, at least on the limited basis that already exists between the United States and the U. S. S. R. (the Pacific Shipper, March 4, 11, May 13, 1957; San Francisco Chronicle, May 31 and June 3, 1957; the New York Journal of Commerce, May 9, 1957; the Coos Bay (Oreg.) Times, April 22, 1957.)

#### PAST TRADE PATTERNS

Although on an all-over basis trade between the United States and China was never a major item, it did represent at one time 70 percent of all China's foreign trade. In addition to certain industries, especially in the Pacific Northwest, this trade was of major importance.

For example, in 1931, some 314 million board-feet of lumber were exported from Oregon and Washington to China. In 1956, the total of all lumber exports to all countries of the world from these 2 States amounted to 300 million board-feet.

Between the years 1922 and 1944, China was among the top six foreign purchasers of flour from Oregon and Washington. During 8 of these 24 years, China ranked first among the countries importing flour from these 2 States.

#### NEW TRADE POTENTIAL

Past trade with China was almost exclusively in consumer and luxury goods. China today is rapidly becoming an industrial nation and, as a result, its foreign trade has expanded sharply while at the same time it has changed markedly in composition.

For example, between 1952 and 1955, China's foreign trade expanded 61 percent, and capital goods accounted for 89 percent of all the goods imported by that country.

Great Britain, for example, exported goods to China to the value of about \$20 million in 1956. It is anticipated, in view of the new British trade policy, that this will quadruple and reach some \$89 million in 1957-58, and among the products which it is expected will flow in such trade from England to China are rolling mills and parts, machine tools, powerplants and electric equipment, telecommunication, electronic equipment, and so forth.

Because the Chinese Government's second 5-year plan of industrial development (1958-62) is now being finalized, the British look forward to obtaining a dominant position in supplying foreign capital goods which, they hope, the United States will not be able to supplant at some later date.

#### TRADE VERSUS RECOGNITION

Opening up trade, which is clearly in the interest of the United States, does not require any de facto recognition of the Chinese Government. Although the ILWU feels that continued nonrecognition of the new regime is a ridiculous policy for the United States to follow, we recognize that objection to recognition still exists in certain quarters of the United States. For this reason we are urging a trade policy separate and apart from recognition.

We have been informed by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce that such a policy is feasible. Trade need not wait until recognition has been agreed to.

Moreover, we are convinced that, once trade is opened up and relations between the United States and China become increasingly normalized, full recognition will follow in due course.

#### CURRENT NON-UNITED STATES TRADE WITH CHINA

China's trade has been growing, as already indicated. This fact explains why United States policy should be changed to take advantage of a growing and increasingly significant market.

As articles in the Pacific Shipper, already noted, make clear, more and more ships of the leading maritime nations are calling on Chinese ports. In addition, trade delegations from Belgium, France, and England have visited China in recent months to conduct trade surveys and to firm up contracts for firms of their respective countries. According to reports, a similar delegation representing key manufacturing firms of West Germany will soon be in China as well.

There is no doubt that these countries, directly competitive with the United States, will not only skim the cream off the top of China trade but will establish a beachhead in China's planned industrial development which the United States will not be able to overcome at a later date.

Senator HRUSKA. Any further questions, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; I have further questions, Senator.

What organizations have you outside the continental limits of the United States?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. You mean Territories, Judge?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. I think you mentioned Alaska.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, we have an organization in Alaska.

Mr. MORRIS. What organization do you have in Alaska?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. They are locals of the ILWU.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that local 62, of Ketchikan, Alaska?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That sounds right.

Mr. MORRIS. And local 30?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have several locals in Ketchikan. We have some, I believe, in Sitka.

Mr. MORRIS. How about the fisherman's locals? Do you organize them?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. We have some fishermen, but most are unorganized.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they generally incorporated into the ILWU a few years ago?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. They were pretty well put out of business.

Mr. MORRIS. How many—

Mr. GOLDBLATT. They were put out of business by the Antitrust Committee, you know. The only really active locals of fishermen are the ones in Seattle and San Pedro.

Mr. MORRIS. Your Honolulu organization amounts to about 26,000, does it not?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's about right.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you operate or organize in Central America?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you mention you had a local in British Honduras?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No, no. British Columbia.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't organize at all in Central America?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No.

Mr. MORRIS. I note the Dispatch shows a great deal of interest in Guatemala. What is the interest of the ILWU in Guatemala?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I hadn't noticed any particular interest in Guatemala recently.

Mr. MORRIS. Here in the July 23, 1954, issue of the Dispatcher——

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is 3 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. You had an interest in Guatemala 3 years ago?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Everybody should have.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the interest there 3 years ago?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know, specifically. All I recall is the date.

Mr. MORRIS. It states "Guatemala, 1,776" in the Dispatcher.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That's right. We have always been interested in what is going on in Guatemala. We are interested in what goes on around the world. We are always trying to learn.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your specific interest in Guatemala?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Any specific trade union interest as against what goes on in Mexico.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your interest in politics as a trade unionist?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, politics or trade unions, I don't think you can have a competent trade unionist who doesn't take an interest in what goes on around the world, who isn't interested in political developments, as well as economic developments.

There have been some who confine themselves to a narrow scope of activities and they found that trade unionists are within the whole seat of social structure, within the country and the world. For the same reason, our union has always been interested in the condition of longshoremen around the world. They have a direct impact on them. We are interested to the greatest degree possible in furtherance of the trade union interests.

Mr. MORRIS. You say in your Dispatcher, the Dispatcher published by the ILWU——

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, I don't own it.

Mr. MORRIS (reading):

Guatemala Government blocked by the United States State Department in its attempt to buy arms in the "Western World" faced by mounting threats of violence finally turned to the "Eastern World."

And the Western World and Eastern World are in quotes.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I guess that's what happened.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the trade union activity in that statement?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is not trade union activity; it is news.

Mr. MORRIS. The Dispatcher publishes that by way of disseminating news to the members?

Mr. FORER. Excuse me. Is this really connected with the purpose of the committee, Mr. Chairman?

Senator HRUSKA. I think until we find that it has no——

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Is it your position, Judge, that trade unionism is supposed to be stupid?

Mr. FORER. Just a minute, Mr. Goldblatt. Let's hear the chairman's ruling.

Senator HRUSKA. I think the counsel should be allowed to develop a point and then see whether or not it has any connection. If it develops that it has not, we will drop it.

Mr. MORRIS. One of the things that we learned in Honolulu was that the ILWU, Senator, does indeed have a great political interest, and the supporting statements made by the witness here are, they are engaged in making propaganda.



Mr. GOLBLATT. We are very active in Hawaii, no question about that. Our people are citizens, they vote.

Are you trying to say that they cannot be active in politics, they can't vote? There are some Senators that believe that, I know that.

Incidentally, the Senator that came down to Hawaii believed that, Senator Eastland.

Senator HRUSKA. If the witness please, it is not the recollection of the Chair that there was any question of the right to participate in politics.

The question was an inquiry into the extent of other interests in Guatemala. There is no inference here that any rights of a specific nature should be denied to you or any member of the union or the union itself.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Then I misunderstood the question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldblatt, the subcommittee uses the figure in reporting on the expenditures of local 142 of the ILWU in Hawaii of \$290,000 a year spent by that particular local for propaganda purposes.

I wonder if you can tell us whether that is an accurate figure?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I don't know, to tell you the truth.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us what the expenditure is by ILWU on political activities generally?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is almost entirely local activities.

Mr. MORRIS. What about the issues of the Dispatcher?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. The newspaper?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. That is printed by the international.

Mr. MORRIS. You characterized it as a political publication.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I asked you—

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I simply said that it was news, that's all.

Mr. MORRIS. You went on to make the expression "Political activities."

Mr. GOLDBLATT. No; I didn't.

Mr. MORRIS. How much money do you spend on the Dispatcher?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Well, I would have to—wait just a jiffy—

Are you trying to get into the whole business of finances again?

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to know how much—we have been talking about political activities, Mr. Goldblatt, and we would like to find out the extent to which the ILWU engages in it, and the best gage of that is the amount of money spent on it.

Mr. FORER. Hold on, now. In addition to my other objections I would like to add the objection that now counsel's inquisition is violating the first amendment, and I call attention to what Judge Youngdahl held in the Peck case.

Counsel has no right to ask questions about a newspaper published by the union on what the newspaper says and how much they spend for it.

I think in addition to all the other objections, this inquiry, besides obviously having no legislative purpose, is now a violation of the first amendment.

I would like to have the Chair rule on that.

Mr. MORRIS. In support of the particular question, Senator, we have found that the best gage of determining the extent of the issuance of

Communist propaganda is to try to determine the amount of money being spent on it.

In connection with that particular inquiry, I was asking how much money is spent on the publication the *Dispatcher*, with which the witness is conversant and over which he has some control.

Mr. FORER. I just want to add that in the Peck case they were investigating the *New York Times*; now you are investigating the *Dispatcher*.

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is overruled and the witness is directed to answer.

Mr. FORER. What was that, Senator?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I stated earlier in this hearing, Senator, that I didn't intend to answer any finance questions and I think I went into those reasons in considerable detail.

Senator HRUSKA. You continue to object, therefore, on the grounds previously assigned?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. On the grounds mentioned.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will show that the objections have been overruled and the witness is directed to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you can tell——

Mr. FORER. I assume you honored the refusal for the grounds previously assigned, is that correct? We didn't understand what you said.

Senator HRUSKA. No, I did not. I overruled the objection and directed the witness to answer.

Mr. FORER. Counsel then went on without giving him a chance to continue.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will show what the witness did.

Mr. FORER. Did you know one of the previous grounds was the privilege under the fifth amendment?

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The fifth amendment is recognized as a valid ground for refusing to answer and the witness, because of that, is excused from answering.

Mr. FORER. All right.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you can tell us, Mr. Goldblatt, of the difficulty you have had with the British Government in connection with your visits to the Marseilles convention of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Reference has been made to that in the record.

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes. When I returned from the meeting of the maritime division in Marseilles, I was in Paris and I got a telegram from the chairman of the rank-and-file strike committee of longshoremen in London. There was a large-scale longshoremen's strike on at the time. It was in support of the Canadian seamen and an attempt had been made to work certain ships which they called Black Ships, scab ships.

The London longshoremen refused to work them. Strike began and it spread very rapidly until all of the London docks were tied up and the strike was spreading from there to other groups of workers.

This wire asked that I merely stop by and have a talk with them and find out what the score was. Naturally, we were interested.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was he?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. In London. So I took a plane, together with a couple other fellows, my fellow delegates and a chap from Holland. I went to visit them and hadn't been there very long. We arrived, went down, met this fellow Timothy, had a very interesting session,



found out a good deal about their working conditions—which varied considerably from those in this country.

When I returned to my hotel, Scotland Yard was waiting, picked me up, heaved me into Old Bailey; the next day they paid my passage out of the country.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the reason given for that?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. I still have it framed in my office as a sort of a diploma, signed by Home Secretary Reid, saying I am not wanted.

I can't understand a big government like Great Britain being frightened by me. I am surprised at the Labor government losing its head that way. They had a strike, yes, but that's not too—

Senator HRUSKA. Was the Labor government in control then?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. Yes, sir. This is a very antilabor action against me.

Incidentally, I couldn't get any sympathy at all from my own members when I got home. They said it couldn't be called punishment if you are deported from London to Paris.

Mr. MORRIS. I have other questions to ask of this witness. Senator, but we have a schedule to maintain.

We have Mr. Gleason here and I would like to take some testimony from Mr. Gleason.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The witness will be excused and we will ask Mr. Gleason to take the stand.

Mr. Gleason, will you be sworn, please?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GLEASON. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Goldblatt, what was the year of that Marseilles conference?

Mr. GOLDBLATT. 1949.

**TESTIMONY OF THOMAS W. GLEASON, GENERAL ORGANIZER FOR THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, INDEPENDENT, ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM B. MISCHO AND JOHN T. SULLIVAN, HIS ATTORNEYS**

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give the reporter your full name and address?

Mr. GLEASON. Thomas W. Gleason, 29 Charles Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you hear the testimony of the preceding witness?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you fairly conversant with the area covered during this particular hearing?

Mr. GLEASON. Not all of it; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you understand Senator Hruska's opening statement, the general legislative purpose of the committee?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You know that the subcommittee has learned and has reported the fact that there are Communist influences in the ILWU and that the ILWU is making some efforts, initiating efforts to gain

a foothold on the east coast in certain ports, and we would like to have some testimony from you along those lines.

What is your business or profession?

Mr. GLEASON. I am a general organizer for the International Longshoremen's Association (Independent).

Mr. MORRIS. General organizer?

Mr. GLEASON. General organizer, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been a general organizer of the ILA—is that right, ILA?

Mr. GLEASON. ILA. I have been an official since 1934, but I have been general organizer since November of 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you generally aware of the activities of the ILWU?

Mr. GLEASON. I try to keep abreast of them; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your official duties?

Mr. GLEASON. That's right, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us, Mr. Gleason, whether or not representatives of the ILWU, the one whose name came up here today, Mr. Charles Velson, have made any efforts to organize in New York City?

Mr. GLEASON. Mr. Velson wouldn't be able to organize in New York City. To my knowledge, Mr. Velson has never made an attempt to organize in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you known Mr. Velson?

Mr. GLEASON. I think sometime in 1955, I think.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how many times have you met Mr. Velson during that period?

Mr. GLEASON. He sought me out probably in the period from 1955 to the present, I would say; maybe 30 or 40 times.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his purpose in seeking you out, Mr. Gleason?

Mr. GLEASON. Well, his first purpose was in coming down here before the Bonner committee. He said that he felt that there should be common termination dates as far as the longshore contracts were concerned, and he said that he felt it would be the best thing as far as the industry was concerned to get stability in the industry, and we discussed it. And then he appeared down here before the Bonner committee with the ILWU representatives.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Mr. Velson sought you out 30 or 40 times.

How many times did you meet with him in his efforts to seek you out?

Mr. GLEASON. Well, maybe 25, 30 times.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the duration of your meetings with him?

Mr. GLEASON. Never lasted more than 20 minutes or half an hour at the most.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever spend several hours with him in succession?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he ever visit you at your home?

Mr. GLEASON. He met me at my door in New York City when he would come down there.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you give us an idea of how much money Mr. Velson and other representatives of the ILWU spend in connection with their activity in New York City?

Mr. GLEASON. I wouldn't know. There is no way of my finding out that.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there any evidence of the ILWU giving money to representatives of the ILA?

Mr. GLEASON. Just money collected by a rank and file committee sometime in 1954 or 1955, I don't recall the dates; but two rank-and-file men went out there—

Mr. MORRIS. Of what union?

Mr. GLEASON. Of the International Longshoremen's Association, the ILA. They collected money. That's the only knowledge I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us about the collection of this money?

Mr. GLEASON. I didn't know it until it was all over.

They went out there. We had a strike and they went out there and made a tour of the west coast, to local unions, soliciting money to help them take care of the longshoremen who were on strike in the city of Brooklyn. I believe it was in 1954 and 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Velson ever give you any money?

Mr. GLEASON. He never has given me 5 cents.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us generally about the activities of Mr. Velson or as far as you have been able to observe?

Mr. GLEASON. Well, the only thing that I know about Mr. Velson is what I heard Mr. Goldblatt say here this morning.

I have kept close watch on Mr. Velson in New York and I seem to have to agree that he has been in there more or less as an observer, more or less looking for information as far as contracts were concerned and as far as these new procedures, these tank ships and piggyback ships were coming into effect.

They are looking for at least uniformity in new contracts of that type.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Charles Keith?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Sam Madell?

Mr. GLEASON. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know any other representatives of the ILWU in New York City?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you met with any other person you know to be a member of the ILWU?

Mr. GLEASON. I met with Mr. Bridges.

Mr. MORRIS. When?

Mr. GLEASON. Four or five months ago.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the purpose of that meeting?

Mr. GLEASON. I believe they were going over their contracts. Mr. Bridges at that time felt that the Government and the ILA had let him down insofar as the contracts were concerned, the common termination dates.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. GLEASON. I think it was probably, maybe February or March that I met Mr. Bridges.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what duration was that meeting?

Mr. GLEASON. Ten or fifteen minutes, half an hour.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen Mr. Bridges since then?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you see him before that?

Mr. GLEASON. Down here in Washington when I was down here with the committee, the Bonner committee.

Mr. MORRIS. What meetings have you had with him in the last 2 years—with Harry Bridges?

Mr. GLEASON. I probably met Mr. Bridges 3 or 4 times, altogether. I don't recall.

Mr. Bridges was a member of the ILA in 1935 with me. He was the president of the west coast ILA group and he was a member of the ILA until he seceded in 1937. I attended with him conventions prior to him leaving the ILA.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man by the name of Hyman Bershad? B-e-r-s-h-a-d?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir, never met him.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a publication called the Dockers' News?

Mr. GLEASON. I see it. I try to tear it up when I do see it.

Mr. MORRIS. Whose publication is that?

Mr. GLEASON. I couldn't tell you.

Senator HRUSKA. Why do you tear it up when you see it?

Mr. GLEASON. It is not the type of stuff we want around the New York waterfronts.

Senator HRUSKA. It supports the position of the ILA?

Mr. GLEASON. We have no control over what other people do, Mr. Chairman. I have listened to the previous witness and they are mainly concerned with the waterfront commission, the last two editions that I saw, that we were kicking around, the waterfront commission in New York City.

As I listened to the other witness say, they are afraid of getting the same type of Government supervision or representation in other ports.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know the editorial staff or the reporters?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Who publishes the documents?

Mr. GLEASON. I couldn't tell you. I don't have no idea.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, is it published by the waterfront section of the Communist Party?

Mr. GLEASON. I wouldn't know that, sir.

I would like to say here and now that I never was a Communist, never want to be a Communist, never will be one; don't know the first thing about them.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like the record to show here that we have no evidence whatever that the witness before us now has ever been a member of the Communist Party or has been a Communist.

We have asked him to testify here today, Senator, because being in a strategic position on the New York waterfront we felt he might be able to give us information as to the activity of Mr. Velson and the other activities of the ILWU.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will so show, and to be fair to the witness, he comes here to contribute his knowledge about this situation.

Mr. MORRIS. In your meetings with Mr. Velson, did you at any time take up the possibility of securing support from the ILWU for any of your activities, of the ILA?

Mr. GLEASON. I never sought that. It was always an offer for support and any offer, I would always bring it right to Captain Bradley.

The last I knew about it was the time we had our east coast and gulf



strike. I went to Captain Bradley at the time and they offered to help us and Captain Bradley turned it down.

Senator HRUSKA. Who offered?

Mr. GLEASON. Harry Bridges.

Senator HRUSKA. What type of help?

Mr. GLEASON. Like the previous witness said, they did stop a couple scab ships. They refused to handle scab cargo. But as far as we were concerned, we didn't need any assistance. We were able to take care of our own affairs.

Senator HRUSKA. When you say they stopped a couple ships, where did that happen?

Mr. GLEASON. I believe on the west coast. I believe they had a couple intercoastal ships that were loaded here and were going to discharge in one of the west coast ports.

Senator HRUSKA. Did they offer help in other ways?

Mr. GLEASON. That was as far as I know.

Senator HRUSKA. They offered help by way of strike funds or other fashion?

Mr. GLEASON. Not that I know of, sir; no, sir;

Mr. MORRIS. How many offers did they make?

Mr. GLEASON. I believe that was the only one.

Mr. MORRIS. You said they frequently offered, I think you said that before.

Mr. GLEASON. As far as the compensation bill was concerned, they offered there, they helped there, we were down here with them. As you know, we were going through a period of strife among ourselves. We had internal dissension in our organization. When Captain Bradley and myself came in there we didn't have the facilities to come down here and go through this procedure. A legal representative they had down here, lobbyist down to Washington, and we surely needed help to get that bill put over, because it was something the longshoremen were aching to get for a period of years.

We did get their help and they came in alongside of us.

The common termination date was another offer. They came in on the Bonner committee and Maritime Administration were the ones who initiated that; and I believe it was the best thing for this industry because we are out on strike at least four times a year, the way the contracts are negotiated now.

First is the SUP; then it's the SIU; then it's the marine cooks; then it's the longshoremen.

We are always on the street.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Gleason, did they offer to give you any money assistance?

Mr. GLEASON. I think at one particular time a man, Matt Meehan, who happened to be a secretary of the Pacific coast under the ILA, and I believe at that time he offered some money and it was turned down.

Mr. MORRIS. He was not in the ILA?

Mr. GLEASON. Formerly an ILA man.

Mr. MORRIS. Associated then with the ILWU? He offered money to whom in the union?

Mr. GLEASON. Captain Bradley, myself, and Pete Cannon.

Mr. MORRIS. How much money did he offer?

Mr. GLEASON. I don't know. I don't remember whether it was a certain sum or not.

Mr. MORRIS. May I read to you an extract from the ILWU convention, specifically, page 41. This is the convention of April 4-8, 1955. [Reading:]

In the spring of the year a delegation from the ILA, Brooklyn division, visited many ILWU locals. They were well received, and, having given the members a firsthand picture of what was going on in the east coast, they wanted support and financial assistance.

Can you state about that?

Mr. GLEASON. I guess they repeated the story about the 2 or 3 rank-and-file men who went out from Brooklyn soliciting funds. I believe they had a book about hiring practices in the east and west coast ports. That states what they did, how much was the amount and everything else.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Morris, I have already overstayed my allotted period of time by some 20 minutes.

I take it you have not finished?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think we can work it out with Mr. Gleason to finish this at some time, possibly; Counsel Sullivan, here, after the session we may be able to work something out either today or tomorrow.

Mr. SULLIVAN. One thing, Senator, before you leave.

After listening to Mr. Goldblatt I would like the record to show that the ILA went on record as being opposed to any opening of trade with Red China.

As to continuing, I don't know what Mr. Gleason can do on that.

Mr. GLEASON. I would appreciate it if I could finish up today. I haven't had a vacation, but I would like to take at least 2 weeks or 10 days if we can go through with this.

Senator HRUSKA. The record should show that Mr. Sullivan is appearing as counsel for the witness, and also Mr.—

Mr. MISCHO. Mr. Mischo, M-i-s-c-h-o. I have already noted my appearance, William B. Mischo.

Senator HRUSKA. Fine. The record will note the full name.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. Mischo is the general house counsel and general counsel for the ILA, and I am special counsel.

Mr. MISCHO. I am the man-of-all-work.

Mr. MORRIS. I know Mr. Bradley is here. Did I understand he is here offering to testify?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Captain Bradley is here because of our recommendation that anything this committee wants of Captain Bradley, if you want him to make any statement or ask any questions, he is always available and he will answer every question. He is the president of the ILA.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you very much for your cooperation and for your contribution to the hearings in this committee.

The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing resumed at 3:17 p. m., in room 313, Senate Office Building.)

Senator HRUSKA (presiding). We will resume our committee hearing.

Judge Morris, have you a statement to make?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator. We have taken further questions and answers of Mr. Gleason and Captain Bradley, who was present, asked for some statements on the record.

I now request that you ask each of them if the statements they have given are true and will they swear that they are true, so they may be part of the official record.

Senator HRUSKA. I shall do so.

Mr. Gleason, of course, has been sworn already.

Perhaps we can swear Mr. Bradley and ask him that that operate retroactively as to the questions and answers.

Mr. Bradley, do you solemnly swear that the testimony in this case which you have given and which will be incorporated into the record at this point was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BRADLEY. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. One question of Mr. Gleason.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Gleason, you have heard Judge Morris' reference to the question and answer statement which you gave him a little bit ago. Are you stating for the purpose of the record that those answers which you have given were true statements?

Mr. GLEASON. To the best of my knowledge, they were.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

That testimony, then, and the question and answer statements of both Mr. Gleason and Mr. Bradley will be incorporated into the record as fully and completely at this point as they would have been had these proceedings preceded their taking.

(The testimony of Mr. Gleason and Mr. Bradley, above referred to, is as follows:)

#### TESTIMONY OF THOMAS W. GLEASON—Resumed

(The proceedings had in room 319, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., July 30, 1957, are as follows:)

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Gleason, was Velson ever hired on the ILA payroll at any time?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Not even for a short period of time?

Mr. GLEASON. Never. Not for a day. Not for an hour. Not for a minute.

Mr. MORRIS. And was subsequently dismissed?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir. That is propaganda.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the information the committee has was that he was hired as a public-relations assistant and that he had been hired by Packy Connelly. But that is erroneous; is that right?

Mr. GLEASON. That is absolutely wrong. If Packy Connelly wanted to hire a boy, we would never get Velson.

Mr. MORRIS. You have told us all about your meetings in that connection?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir, believe me.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever met with Goldblatt?

Mr. GLEASON. I think I met Goldblatt down here once or twice and maybe once in New York, sir.



Mr. MORRIS. And then at the time the four of you testified together, you met him then, did you not? I mean at the same time?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Goldblatt, Bridges, and yourself and Captain Bradley?

Mr. GLEASON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did Velson help you prepare your statement that you gave to the committee?

Mr. GLEASON. Well, he did. He did do some of that. But it was our own thoughts. He did not help me alone. But he prepared many releases that day; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What were some of the releases?

Mr. GLEASON. I just do not recall. But they were all along the same lines.

Mr. SULLIVAN. May I say something at that particular point?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Velson would submit—well, sometimes he would come up with things. He is always writing things. Invariably anything that ever came around to Mr. Gleason, he would submit to me. Whenever Mr. Gleason made any statements or submitted any documents, it was the result of my work. Anything this fellow gave me I would reject it.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell me this: Why was Velson writing statements for people?

Mr. GLEASON. Well, here is what happened, Mr. Morris: Like I told you this morning, when we first came down here, with our long fight and everything, and the history behind us, we did not have a lobbyist down here. And when we came down here, we had these statements prepared. And we screened them. John says we screened them. Plus John Condon, our public relations guy, went over them. We took out the things we thought wasn't any good and that we didn't want to be part of it.

We submitted our own statement. We screened it, or censored it, or what you may call it. But we submitted our own statement after we got a line on what the whole story was here.

Mr. SULLIVAN. This was only in connection with the common termination and the committee.

Mr. GLEASON. The compensation, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. For whom else did he prepare anything?

Mr. GLEASON. I couldn't think of anybody else.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did he bring those statements to you personally?

Mr. GLEASON. I think he was passing them out over there. I think he had quite a few of them over there.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Over where?

Mr. GLEASON. Over at the hearing.

Mr. MORRIS. The Labor Committee hearings, the House Labor Committee hearings?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the Bridges people have consistently pressed for a common joint termination date, have they not?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir. But, you see, this morning, listening to them, they could have had a common termination date if they wanted it. All they had to do was extend their contract to September 30. They extended to August 1. But for some reason they wanted August 1.



But if they wanted it, if they had really wanted to get a common termination date, all they had to do was extend their contract to September 30.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Tony Anastasia?

Mr. GLEASON. He is vice president of ILA.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he ever have a discussion with you concerning the possibility of obtaining further help from Bridges and the International Longshoremen's Union on the west coast?

Mr. GLEASON. Never to my mind; never to my recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. That is approximately in April or May of 1954?

Mr. GLEASON. I don't recall any such things.

Mr. MORRIS. There is nothing more you can tell us about Dockers News now?

Mr. GLEASON. No.

We drove them off the waterfront. We drove them off. We beat them, and everything else. If they come down—now they get those Dockers News in the morning—is around 4 o'clock in the morning—they are off the highway; they don't show up at all.

Mr. MORRIS. One other question. Who was Tom Di Bello?

Mr. GLEASON. Tom Di Bello was a former member of the ILA; he worked at the Army base in Brooklyn.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Peter Rossi?

Mr. GLEASON. I don't recall the name, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Blackie Impellasso?

Mr. GLEASON. He is a checker.

Mr. MORRIS. Did those three gentlemen go to San Francisco to meet with Louis Goldblatt?

Mr. GLEASON. We didn't know Mr. Goldblatt until they were there and back. We had nothing to do with sending them out there. We didn't know anything about it until it broke. I think it broke in the papers.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the episode you referred to in your testimony this morning?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir. I don't know Rossi. But I know Impellasso and Di Bello.

Mr. MORRIS. They were successful in obtaining checks from the ILA organizations, from the various locals?

Mr. GLEASON. That is what the book shows, yes.

Mr. SCHROEDER. Did these checks go through your bookkeeping?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir. The international had nothing to do with it. In fact, I think that Anastasia let Di Bello go. He is out of the union. He is no longer a member of the union. I don't know what became of Blackie Impellasso.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything more, Mr. Gleason, you feel you can tell us in connection with our efforts to learn of ILWU activities on the east coast?

Mr. GLEASON. Believe me, Mr. Morris, if I knew, I would break their heads for them to bring them down here. One time I went to—well, I don't know a single thing. If I did, I wouldn't have to be under cover. But I come down here directly right in the open and tell you about it.

Mr. MORRIS. I think that is all.

One second more here.

Do you know Earl King?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Of MEBA?

Mr. GLEASON. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he the business manager of MEBA?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know anything about a loan or a contribution of \$20,000 to the ILA from Earl King?

Mr. GLEASON. I believe there was a loan to the ILA. Or a donation.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that? What was the nature of that?

Mr. GLEASON. I think that was the—I think the captain could testify more about that.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us, captain.

Mr. BRADLEY. That was for the purpose of a labor dispute between the MEBA, and the SIU, and the ILA. The SIU was raiding the MEBA, and King and the MEBA came to our office and asked us for support. We said we couldn't afford to get in the fight on the basis of the AFL and the SIU, but we would fight Paul Hall if they would finance the fight. And they turned over \$20,000 of the MEBA Local 33 to fight the separate issue. And the MEBA national organization turned over \$10,000. And we turned that over to some of Paul Hall's ex-members to fight it on a different issue. There is quite a story in it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Earl King have anything to do with the Communists?

Mr. BRADLEY. To my knowledge, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you subsequently learn that he did?

Mr. BRADLEY. No. I never heard of him being connected with them. This is the first I ever heard him mentioned.

(Discussion off the record.)

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM V. BRADLEY, ACCOMPANIED BY JOHN T. SULLIVAN, ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you please state your name and address for the record.

Mr. BRADLEY. William V. Bradley, 174 Pelton Avenue, West Brighton, Staten Island, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. What position do you have in the ILA?

Mr. BRADLEY. I am president of the International Longshoremen's Association.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are there in the ILA?

Mr. BRADLEY. We figure between 75,000 and 85,000 men.

Mr. MORRIS. Captain Bradley, you heard the testimony of Mr. Goldblatt? You heard the testimony of Mr. Gleason, of your own organization?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You have come down here voluntarily?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything you would like to add to the testimony of both of those witnesses?

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, the testimony that I heard today, I heard the name of Velson mentioned quite often. And my first connection with

him, as far as the organization is concerned, was that he came to our office as a member of one of our local unions. And he made quite an impression, the way he spoke of labor and the organization in general.

At that particular time, we were in a strike or we were about to call a strike. And we were speaking mostly with the Governors of the States of New York and New Jersey on the strike situation at the port of New York. And he began to give some advice of some things that he knew about Government operations.

Shortly, about 2 or 3 days, I got a telephone call from Mayor Grogan, of Hoboken, and he asked me if I had on our payroll a fellow by the name of Velson. And I told him I didn't have anybody by that name on the payroll by the name of Velson.

Mr. MORRIS. John Grogan is the name?

Mr. BRADLEY. Yes.

As a matter of fact, when we first met Velson, his name was Jackson, not Velson.

And, of course, we checked—I always call our publicity man here on anything like that. And he came back with the word that it was Velson, not Jackson.

And I called Velson in, and I told him that we didn't want him on the waterfront and we didn't want him around our office. We didn't want him in the office, and we wanted nothing to do with him nor his people. And that was even before we knew he had any connection with Bridges.

Later on, we found out that he had connections with Bridges. When I found that out, I called Gleason in. And I told him, I said "Get the word around to the boys on the piers and our delegates."

I spoke at the district council meeting, and I told Gleason to keep an eye on him, of his activities. And that he did. He reported to me and we knew that Velson was in Baltimore. We got that report.

We called Baltimore. We called our people in Baltimore to keep an eye on him.

The same in Philadelphia and Boston. And they were all on the alert, keeping their eye on Velson.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Velson a member of your organization?

Mr. BRADLEY. No, we found no record of his being a member of our organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Captain Bradley, how is it that if you discovered him to be one of Bridges' people, how was it that an official of your union continues to see him all the time?

Mr. BRADLEY. He was around there anyway. I thought it was better to find out what he was doing than to just let him go in the dark; keep track of his movements.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean the fact that he has made these overtures, 35 to 40 overtures to you? Should that not put you on your warning?

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, I think when Mayor Grogan called me, it put me on my warning. I didn't need any more than that. Then we followed right through.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Gleason has been seeing him right down here recently.

Mr. BRADLEY. I knew that. I told him to keep an eye on him.

Mr. MORRIS. When did Mayor Grogan call you?

Mr. BRADLEY. That would be sometime——

When was that?

Mr. GLEASON. That was the time—

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BRADLEY. July or August of 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the Bonner committee people know that Velson was going around preparing statements for people?

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, I don't get these remarks of the statement too much. When we were called before the Bonner committee, I was—I am going to get the two committees mixed up there.

Was the first committee the Bonner committee? No; the first one was the Compensation Committee. Velson wasn't in that at all. That was the first time I met him.

Whose committee was that, Ferguson?

Mr. SULLIVAN. Congressman Smith of the House Labor.

Mr. BRADLEY. Well, I don't understand your saying something about him giving us statements or putting statements out.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, preparing statements. I asked Mr. Gleason if he prepared a statement. He said yes, he did. Then gave certain modifications to it.

Mr. BRADLEY. We were all given statements in support of the compensation bill. Is that what you are referring to?

Mr. MORRIS. Except that I asked particularly if Velson had prepared for Mr. Gleason a statement. And he said "Yes." But then he said that you did not put anything in it unless it was your own idea.

Mr. GLEASON. I do not know whether he prepared them or not. He was giving them out.

Mr. BRADLEY. They were just handing them out to anybody that came along. They were handing them out on the waterfront.

Mr. SULLIVAN. He was not preparing statements for Mr. Gleason.

Mr. BRADLEY. We have our own man here for that. And always have had him.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. What did Velson do with these statements?

Mr. BRADLEY. He just handed them to anybody on the waterfront or he handed them out in the corridor of Congress or the Senate, wherever he would be. If he didn't hand them out, somebody else handed them out.

But they were statements—they were statements that came from Bridges' outfit. It wouldn't necessarily have to be Velson. Whoever sends them out. They come down, oh, not too long ago. I would say 6 months ago, statements.

And the boys escorted them right up the street, chased them right up the streets with the packages and all. I think they brought down a load of those Dispatchers.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, Mr. Gleason, at any time did Velson give you a prepared statement?

Mr. GLEASON. That I would use?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. GLEASON. I don't think so. Any time he would come along with points, what he thought should be done on the compensation bill, or what he thought should be done on the new one here, the third party choices, with this common termination date, I would take ahold of whatever ideas he would have and give them to John.



John would go through them and screen them and pass them on, and he would look them over. Ninety-nine times out of a hundred we never used the stuff.

Mr. MORRIS. One time out of a hundred, you did.

Mr. GLEASON. I couldn't say that we did.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Mischo.

Mr. MISCHO. Before you close the record, I wonder if we could have read into the record a resolution on relations with Red China, dated July 15, 1957?

Senator HRUSKA. Is it a resolution of the convention of the ILA?

Mr. MISCHO. Yes, it is.

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; if it is the one to which reference was made this morning by Mr. Gleason, that will be very appropriate.

Mr. GLEASON. I passed this resolution in.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there an extra copy?

Mr. GLEASON. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. We will incorporate it into the record.

The resolution will be accepted and made a part of the record. And it is entirely appropriate in view of the other testimony given during the course of the day.

Mr. MISCHO. Thank you, sir.

(The resolution referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 513" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 513

#### RESOLUTION ON RELATIONS WITH RED CHINA

Whereas the Red dictators of the Soviet Union have again and again returned evil for good in our relations, ever since we recognized them in 1933 on liberal but definite terms which they promptly violated; and

Whereas in the years since 1933, despite all pledges given us then and in the Declaration of the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and the Charter of the United Nations signed by them in 1945, they have enslaved one-third of mankind, killing millions, sending millions more to slave labor camps, destroying free trade unions and freedom of speech, of religion and of assembly; and

Whereas the Red Dictatorship in China, under the chairmanship of Mao Tse-tung, has risen to power over the bodies of millions of their countrymen slain in civil war; another 15 million reported by Asst. Secretary of State Robertson to have been executed as counter revolutionaries; and more than 20 million more condemned to slave labor; and

Whereas this bloody tyranny over the oldest civilized nation in the world, defied the U. N. in Korea and committed unspeakable crimes against the Korean people, and American and Korean soldiers, all of which, and much more, caused the House of Representatives and the Senate of the U. S. and both political parties in their Conventions of 1956 to vote unanimously against any form of recognition of Red China or its admittance into the U. N.; and

Whereas the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, on June 28, 1957, did declare that American policy stood firmly on these principles and with certainty regarded the evil that now afflicts the 600,000,000 people of China as only "a passing phase": Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That the ILA in Convention assembled congratulates Secretary Dulles for his firm pronouncement to the whole world that the U. S. stands firm for the unanimous policy of both our political parties against trade with or recognition of Communist China; and be it further

*Resolved*, That it is beneath the dignity of free American workers to handle goods produced by slave labor and that the ILA hereby vigorously opposes any trade which would strengthen the Chinese Communist regime which is the enemy of Our Country and of free workingmen throughout the world; and be it further

*Resolved*, That all members of the International Longshoremens' Association will refuse to work on any job connected with trade with the Peiping regime and calls on all free labor, in this country and abroad, to follow suit by refusing

to work in the production or distribution of any material which will be shipped to Mainland China, which can only strengthen the brutal regime temporarily in power; and be it still further

*Resolved*, That Congress should investigate the connections, affiliations and motivations of any and all who seek to destroy the greatest unity achieved by Americans on any foreign policy issue in our generation. This investigation should be so thorough as to reveal whether such activities were undertaken without ulterior motives or on behalf of enemies of the USA and should be undertaken without respect to persons or organizations involved, whether business groups such as the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce or Harry Bridges' ILWU, or pseudo-scholarly groups such as the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Association for Asian Studies, or others; and still further

*Resolved*, That while the line is firmly held against any fraternization or appeasement of the Red tide in the Pacific, that our Secretary of State demand redress by the Soviet Union for violation of the orders of the U. N. and the mandates of humanity in Korea and Hungary, failing which that we break relations with the U. S. S. R. and all its satellite puppet regimes and call for trial and expulsion from the U. N.

July 15, 1957.

*Submitted by the* INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION, PUBLIC RELATIONS DEPARTMENT.

Mr. MORRIS. One other point. In your convention you had a resolution voted down that you would have nothing more to do with Bridges.

Mr. GLEASON. No. That resolution was not only to Bridges, it was a resolution that would tie the hands of the international from talking to anybody. And it was referred to the executive council of the international for action, with a recommendation that the international—that the president of the international reaffirm the international's stand against communism.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did not go on record as not having any further dealings with Bridges?

Mr. GLEASON. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That is all.

Mr. BRADLEY. In all fairness to you, I would like to say that that resolution, as far as I could see, was put in for political reasons in our own organization. And it has got nothing to do with this Communist or Bridges or anything else, because there are certain angles being worked in our own organization.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you, Mr. Bradley.

(Whereupon, at 3:25 p. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES  
(Extent of Communist Activity in Labor)

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

---

AUGUST 6 AND 8, 1957

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PART 78

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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, AUGUST 6, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a. m., in room 155, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, on July 23, Mr. William Wallace testified that he had been a Communist and had been a member of the Singer Sewing Machine Club in the Communist Party. He proceeded to tell us generally how the Communist plan of action was to infiltrate the main AFL-CIO unions. In the process, they expected there would be certain casualties among the leadership of these Communist-controlled unions, but they felt if they could make an infiltration into AFL-CIO, these casualties would be worth that.

In the testimony, Mr. Wallace mentioned Mr. Louis Schumann as a member of the Singer Sewing Machine Club of the Communist Party. We have tried to give anybody whose name was mentioned in the public record an opportunity to answer, particularly when he can add to the record of the subcommittee.

In Mr. Louis Schumann, we have a witness who has not only been responsive to the staff in executive session, but by letting him testify today I think we can give him an opportunity to put the situation in perspective as we know it today.

Will you come forward, Mr. Schumann?

Chairman HRUSKA. Will you be sworn, sir?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF LOUIS SCHUMANN, LINDEN, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you spell your name and address for the reporter, please?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Louis Schumann, S-c-h-u-m-a-n-n.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. SCHUMANN. 710 Chandler Avenue, Linden, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I am a bench worker in the Singer Manufacturing Co.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Schumann?

Mr. SCHUMANN. In Elizabeth, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been working at the Singer Sewing Machine Co.?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Approximately 21 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the Singer Sewing Machine Co. was organized in 1949 by the UERMW, was it not?

Mr. SCHUMANN. No; I believe it was organized in 1943 or 1944.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1949, when the strike took place, it was the UERMW?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. That is not the situation now, is it?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the organization now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. That is an AFL-CIO union?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are in that local, do you know?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would say approximately 5,000.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Wallace told the subcommittee that he and you worked together in a Singer Sewing Machine club of the Communist Party during that period.

Mr. SCHUMANN. There was such a club.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of that club?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us roughly when you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would say I was approached by Anthony Rodrigues in the latter part of 1948.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell Mr. Rodrigues' name?

Mr. SCHUMANN. R-o-d-r-i-g-u-e-s.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes; he was.

Mr. MORRIS. He asked you to join in 1948?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you join?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you remain in the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I remained actively until approximately July 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened in July 1949?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Our local met and decided that, for the benefit of the members, our officers should sign Taft-Hartley affidavits.

Mr. MORRIS. Who attended this meeting, and who made that decision?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, it was made by the officers and the executive board of the local then in office.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

Who were the leading officers?

Mr. SCHUMANN. The leading officers were myself as business agent, Robert Brennan as president, and other people of the executive board.

Mr. MORRIS. Who made the decision that you should resign from the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Speaking for myself, I made the decision after I read the terms on the affidavit.

Mr. MORRIS. After you effected this resignation from the Communist Party in July of 1949, did you remain friendly and cooperative with the Communists?

Mr. SCHUMANN. With some of them; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the Communist meetings?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I couldn't accurately state whether they were Communist meetings or not. It may have been a meeting concerning strictly trade-union policies of the shop, but known Communists were present.

Mr. MORRIS. How would you describe your relationship with the Communists in the period immediately following July of 1949?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would say I was cooperating to an extent in matters that I felt would aid the people at the shop.

Mr. MORRIS. However, you had technically resigned from the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. You had—when did you have another break with the Communists, and by that I mean an ideological difference with them?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would say the complete and final break came in 1952.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you account for that break?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I feel that I didn't go along with their policies. I felt I had made a fool of myself, and this was the time to make sure that I severed all connections.

Mr. MORRIS. So you severed all connections with the Communists in 1952?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. For instance, did you go to the FBI and mention to them the identity of people you knew to be Communists?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes; I have given a complete statement of my activities and everybody I was concerned with to the FBI.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Early this year.

Mr. MORRIS. 1957?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, we have gone over the problems of what names to put in the record. Mr. Wallace has put many of them in. He was careful to put in only the names of those he thought to be leaders of the group. One of them was Mr. Schumann here.

Now, we have gone through the names with Mr. Schumann and I will ask him now, if you will agree to this, Senator—if you will recall, I mentioned it to you—that we feel we should only put the important leaders of the groups into the record and not the names of those who were in the Communist Party for a short time, who may have been led astray by the Communists.

Senator HRUSKA. That is fair. We will proceed along that line, if you will, Mr. Schumann.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the members of the Communist Party in the Singer Sewing Machine Club in the period you were active, Mr. Schumann?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Anthony Rodrigues.



Mr. MORRIS. He is the man you mentioned before?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now, do you know?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I think he is working privately, I am not sure. I think he is connected with a private firm.

Mr. MORRIS. He was a member of the Singer Sewing Machine Club?

Mr. SCHUMANN. He was, to my knowledge, the only one before I was approached.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace said there were nine members of the club at the time he was a member.

Mr. SCHUMANN. There was Robert Brennan.

Mr. MORRIS. How many were there, roughly, to your knowledge?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Actively working in the plant, to my knowledge, there were 9 or 10.

Mr. MORRIS. So it would coincide roughly with his recollection?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

I am leaving out the ones that I felt were involved for 1 meeting or 2.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean there are 9 or 10 important ones, and others who were identified with the Communist Party for shorter periods of time, and you are not including them in the 9 or 10? <sup>1</sup>

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, would our record be in good shape if we left it that way?

Senator HRUSKA. Are there others you would care to name as having been associated with the Communist Party in a known fashion?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, there are others that I shall name that were active, but did not work at the Singer plant. They were outsiders.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Schumann says he will give us these names in executive session if we want them, those that were only with the Communist Party, to his knowledge, for a short time.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed along that line.

Mr. SCHUMANN. The last name I gave was Robert Brennan. He was president of the shop local.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is he doing now, do you know?

Mr. SCHUMANN. He is working at the plant.

Mr. MORRIS. He is no longer president?

Mr. SCHUMANN. No, he is not.

There was Norval Butterfield.

Mr. MORRIS. What is he doing now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I don't know. He is not at the plant any more.

Mr. MORRIS. Not at the plant?

Mr. SCHUMANN. There was Anthony Cascone, C-a-s-c-o-n-e.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I have no knowledge. He is not in the plant. There was Walter Poleschuk.

Mr. MORRIS. We know Walter Poleschuk. He testified last week or, rather, refused to testify.

Mr. SCHUMANN. William Wallace you know.

<sup>1</sup> The subcommittee has received an affidavit from Archibald H. Payne III to the effect that, while he was employed at the Singer plant, he attended Communist meetings but withdrew after an association of about a year.

There was Myrtle Schoen.

Mr. MORRIS. How do you spell that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. S-c-h-o-e-n, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that Myrtle, M-y-r-t-l-e, a woman?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is she now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Working in the plant.

Mr. MORRIS. What is she doing now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I think she is a clerk; I am not sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Does she hold any office in the union?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Not to my knowledge.

There was Al Lipari, L-i-p-a-r-i.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the last-mentioned name, I would like the record to show that he has expressed a willingness to testify, if you want his testimony, Senator.

Mr. SCHUMANN. To my knowledge, Mr. Lipari was only at 1 or 2 meetings, and he was used mainly as a fund source. When they wanted to get a few dollars, I think they used Mr. Lipari.

Senator HRUSKA. What was his occupation?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Carpenter.

Senator HRUSKA. In the plant?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were some of the leaders outside the plant who exercised an influence on those inside the plant who were Communist Party members?

Mr. SCHUMANN. The ones that were recruited at the same time I was were a girl working in the local office at that time, Helen Ciurczak.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell that, please?

Mr. SCHUMANN. C-i-u-r-c-z-a-k.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is she now, do you know?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I have no knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Anybody else?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Walter Barry.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his position?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Walter Barry was an international representative of the UE, assigned to the local by the national office, and worked very closely with myself and other officers from the time I became interested in the movement.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he, to your knowledge, a Communist?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You met him under circumstances that would indicate to you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Who are some of the other members?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Archer Cole.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I believe he is working for a local union.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, it is our information that Archer Cole has been under subpoena now by the subcommittee for 2 weeks, or since Mr. Wallace's testimony. He is now an official—is he an official, Mr. Schumann?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I am not sure. I know he works for the union.

Mr. MORRIS. He works for local 485 of the IUE.

Have you seen Archer Cole recently?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I have seen him, I would say, approximately 2 weeks ago, after he received his original subpoena.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened when you saw him?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I hadn't seen him in 2 or 3 years. He came to my home, which happens to be a short distance from his. He wanted to know if I wanted to meet with him on the problem of getting legal advice.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he offering to get legal assistance for you?

Mr. SCHUMANN. No, because before he really got into the subject, I stated to him that it was my intention, if I were subpoenaed, to answer all questions. I felt that I had better advise him of that fact before he disclosed his intentions to the committee.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened when you told him that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. He indicated he didn't think it was the best thing to do. But I said my mind was made up. I did not indicate to him at that time that I had previously notified the FBI.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, this testimony is a bit unusual inasmuch as Archer Cole has been calling in here regularly, giving reasons why he cannot testify. The reason each time has been that he is not able to obtain counsel. Apparently, then, he was willing to advise Mr. Schumann how to obtain counsel.

Mr. SCHUMANN. He stated to me that the person he did want to secure as counsel was on vacation, or something. I have no way of knowing whether that is correct or not.

Senator HRUSKA. Did he give you the name of the person?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes, I believe he stated Mr. Stavis.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there any other people outside?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes, Sid White, who worked at the local as a publicity man. I believe he is located in New York now.

And Martha Stone.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was Martha Stone?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I found out later that she was a big wheel in the party. I didn't know her exact title, but she was a higher up in the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Sylvia Cohen at all?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I knew her in connection with union work, but not otherwise.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, Sylvia Cohen was identified by Mr. Wallace as a member of the Communist Party. We have ascertained that she is working as a clerk in the office of district 4, IUE, AFL-CIO, at 21 Fulton Street, Newark, N. J.

Archer Cole we would like to get in here, along with other members of the Communist Party who have not been able to obtain counsel.

Altogether we have 16 officials, not rank and file people, but people who are working as officials of the IUE who have been identified as Communists in our record, both open and executive.

Almost without exception they take the position they cannot come in because they cannot obtain counsel.

Mr. Carey, who is the head of the IUE, has been outspoken in his opposition to Communists, Senator, and if you think it is advisable,



we might ask him to assist us in getting these people to testify in order to clear up the record.

Senator HRUSKA. Are subpoenas outstanding on them?

Mr. MORRIS. On most of them. We have subpoenas outstanding on Clifton Cameron, business manager of local 485.

We have a subpoena outstanding on Archer Cole.

There has been a subpoena issued for James McLeish. He is an official in New Jersey.

Altogether, there are 6 officials in Brooklyn, 2 in White Plains, 2 from Jersey City, 1 from Newark, 1 from West Orange, 1 from Sterling, N. J., and—those are the ones about whom we have evidence of Communist Party membership.

These, for the most part, are people who were in another union which has been dismissed by the AFL-CIO as Communist-controlled. Some of the locals have been absorbed into the IUE, which is a large AFL-CIO union.

Now, you will find that at least six of them are now holding offices of some kind, some of them rather important offices.

Senator HRUSKA. In what locals?

Mr. MORRIS. I can go through them.

Senator HRUSKA. Without reference to individuals, what locals?

Mr. MORRIS. We have 2 people identified with local 485; we have 1 in local 475, 1 in local 431, 1 in local 486, 1 in local 301, 1 in local 1227. We have several in district 4. That is the district of the IUE, and one in local 451—I am not sure of 451.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee would be interested in getting information about activity in those locals, and former activities in which members of them may have been engaged. With that thought in mind, I would like to ask you, Mr. Schumann, what were the activities of this Singer Club to which you referred?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Officially, I believe the activities were mainly concerned with the actual trade-union aspects of the Singer plant. That is mainly what I was interested in. But eventually I believe they attempted to promote certain ideas and objectives that some of us did not see eye to eye with.

Senator HRUSKA. When you say "they," to whom do you refer?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would state they would be mainly people such as Mr. Rodrigues, Mr. Barry, Mr. Cole, Mr. Poleschuk.

Senator HRUSKA. What are some of these ideas, so we can get some idea on our part of the things to which you objected?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I believe there was a very conscious effort at all times to promote a feeling that they must do something to bring the Negro leadership in the shop forward.

Now, our shop has quite a few Negroes. There are very outstanding people employed there. But there was a conscious effort to attempt to get people of the Negro race involved, for what actual purposes I don't know. But there was always a conscious effort to try to become friendly with the Negro people.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything else they did that you did not like?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, for example, if they had an opinion of how a certain project in the plant should be handled, and you disagreed with them, there was a very strenuous objection on their part.



In fact, you might wind up in an argument for hours, until you either gave up and felt, well, let it go that way, or else they brought it up later on.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, what activity was there, or what discussion was there about the way the strike was handled?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, there were some discussions by the party group of the issues of the strike. It is very possible that some of those meetings held prior to the strike could lead to different conclusions.

Myself, I was strictly interested in the trade-union aspects of the shop. I felt that that was the correct discussions we were holding. But it is very possible that other people, maybe, were being groomed for a higher position in the party, or maybe were in favor with some of the officials of the party, and would get a different interpretation of the meetings I attended.

Senator HRUSKA. What specific things about the strike were discussed in the Singer Club?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, discussions of how to raise money and how to keep the people from disintegrating, more or less, maintaining picket lines—the normal things of any strike that could be looked at from two sides, whether it was a party function or a trade-union function.

It is very hard to draw this line, because the party can adopt many things that are favorable to a working force. If it suits their means, adopted for their own. If not, why—

Senator HRUSKA. What discussions were there of the Communist line, so called? Was there any conscious effort to indoctrinate the members of the club or any of the union members about the Communist line as such?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I think there was, because I know in the early stages I was sent to a supposed school, or something of that nature.

Mr. MORRIS. What school was that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. It was not a school officially; it was held in a private home.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about that? We are very interested, are we not, Senator?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. SCHUMANN. I went to a home in Elizabeth with Helen Ciurczak, myself, and an organizer for the Communist Party, Mr. Robert Ensel.

Mr. MORRIS. Ensel?

Mr. SCHUMANN. E-n-s-e-l.

Mr. MORRIS. Whose home was that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I don't know. It was a long time ago. I only went a few times. It was a private home.

Mr. MORRIS. You had some kind of indoctrination; is that right?

Mr. SCHUMANN. They had books and things. They wanted you to read the books and come back for a few weeks and discuss it. I, for one, felt I couldn't understand half the books, so I didn't bother much with it.

Senator HRUSKA. What were these books about?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I think they were the history of the Communist Party, and things of that nature. They wanted you to read the whole background of it. But I couldn't understand it thoroughly, and I didn't have the stomach for it.

Senator HRUSKA. How often were meetings of the Singer Club held?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I would say an average of at least once a month, maybe a little sooner.

Senator HRUSKA. Did they also meet in different residences?

Mr. SCHUMANN. They did.

Senator HRUSKA. Getting back to the strike business, did they discuss the techniques of the strike, any slowdown, or agitation that was to be generated? The picketing? Did they deal with any of those things?

Mr. SCHUMANN. There were discussions of the general conduct of the strike. Again, I repeat that I felt many of these issues were strictly trade-union issues. Whether there was then a separate meeting where further details were outlined, I don't know. It is possible that maybe somebody like Wallace could get a deeper understanding of this. I think he was being led more into the political line of it than myself, who was interested in the trade-union aspects.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a business agent of the union local?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I was.

Senator HRUSKA. What were your duties as such?

Mr. SCHUMANN. My duties were to run the office of the local and aid in the settling of disputes and disagreements.

Senator HRUSKA. What local was that?

Mr. SCHUMANN. 401, UE.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you continue after it was changed from the UE to—what was it?

Mr. SCHUMANN. IUE.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you continue as business agent for the local then?

Mr. SCHUMANN. No; I did not. When we were defeated in an election, I went back to work. I had a leave of absence from the plant. I went back to work in my regular occupation.

Senator HRUSKA. When you say "we," you mean the UE local?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. Of what local did you become a member then?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I eventually became a member of local 461, IUE.

Senator HRUSKA. Is that where you are now?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. You were about to say something else?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, it slipped my mind.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Martha Stone at all?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I met her a few times.

Mr. MORRIS. Did she give you instructions what to do?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Well, she discussed various things. I can't pin them at the moment, because I am trying to go back pretty far.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with Walter Barry and James McLeish?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Not Mr. McLeish. I met Mr. McLeish many times as president of district 4, but I didn't meet him any other way.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you meet with Sid White?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Yes; my work and Mr. White's threw us constantly together.

Senator HRUSKA. What was the nature of his work?

Mr. SCHUMANN. He was employed by our union as a publicity man.  
 Senator HRUSKA. Was he one of those whom you knew as a Communist?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. Did he profess to be; did he say he was?

Mr. SCHUMANN. He attended meetings with me.

Senator HRUSKA. Meetings held exclusively by Communist Party members?

Mr. SCHUMANN. That is right. That was prior to the strike.

Senator HRUSKA. What kind of publicity did he engage in?

Mr. SCHUMANN. The normal publicity engaged in by locals—monthly newspapers, and books and publications put out through the plant at large.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know where he is now, at this time?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I believe he is employed in New York City, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. In what capacity, or kind of business is he in?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I don't know.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know where he lives?

Mr. SCHUMANN. In New York City.

Senator HRUSKA. You spoke of having withdrawn from this type of activity in July 1949, and it was the decision of the officers of the union that you decided to sign these affidavits. What kind of affidavits were they?

Mr. SCHUMANN. Taft-Hartley.

Senator HRUSKA. Was there any discussion with regard to these?

Mr. SCHUMANN. There were a couple of lengthy discussions; yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Was there much violent disagreement in the rank and file?

Mr. SCHUMANN. There were normal, regular arguments about it.

Senator HRUSKA. Did some resist it?

Mr. SCHUMANN. There was some resistance, but I felt the people that actually resisted it did so on a normal stand. I don't think there was an ulterior motive.

Senator HRUSKA. Was this brought formally to the attention of the members of the union?

Mr. SCHUMANN. I don't recall whether it was brought formally, or we signed it, and then had the membership sign them. I know that that material is mostly all a matter of public record from the local press.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything further of this witness, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator. But I would like the record to show that we are most appreciative of Mr. Schumann's testimony here today. It is extremely difficult for us to get responsive witnesses such as Mr. Schumann. When we do, Senator, I would like the record clearly to show that he should be commended for his frank, direct, and candid testimony, which is so very helpful.

Senator HRUSKA. Let the record show that those are the sentiments of this subcommittee, and also of the chairman.

Thank you again for coming, Mr. Schumann.

Mr. SCHUMANN. Thank you, sir. I would like to say that it is most helpful to have this forum to get something off my chest.

Mr. MORRIS. That testimony from Mr. Schumann is further corroboration of testimony that Mr. Wallace has given us. Almost every witness we have called so far since this testimony has in various ways corroborated his testimony.

Senator, Mr. Trueba, president of the local, is here. He would like to make a few remarks for the record. He would like to make the record clear on the local's position.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you be sworn, Mr. Trueba?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TRUEBA. I do.

### TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL TRUEBA, ROSELLE, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you be seated, Mr. Trueba?

Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. TRUEBA. Samuel D. Trueba.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. TRUEBA. 225 Linden Road, Roselle.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business?

Mr. TRUEBA. I am at the present time president of local 461, IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been president of 461?

Mr. TRUEBA. For the last 6 years, and a year prior to that, business agent.

Mr. MORRIS. That is 1951?

Mr. TRUEBA. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And the year before that you were the business agent?

Mr. TRUEBA. May I relate it in this way?

We had a labor board election between the UE, and IUE and an independent union in September of 1950. The IUE won out, and when we had our elections in January of the next year, I was elected business agent of the 461 local.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Trueba, we have had testimony again this morning that certain people working at the Singer Sewing Machine plant, some of whom have been officials of the union that preceded you have in fact been members of the Communist Party. I understand you would like to tell the subcommittee the attitude of your local now toward people who are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. TRUEBA. Well, I might start by saying briefly that as I said during the election in 1950, or prior to the election, we had had a rank-and-file group in the plant in previous years who were opposed to the UE, basically on a national basis, as being Communist-dominated. That fight had always been carried on in the shop in previous years. They had not won any officer elections.

The final break came right after the strike, when it terminated in November—October 19, rather.

Senator HRUSKA. Of what year?

Mr. TRUEBA. In 1949.

Subsequently, or right around that time, the UE was expelled from the CIO for being Communist-dominated.

Right after that, we started campaigning for the local to go back into the CIO. We did not want to belong to the UE. We wanted to



belong to organized labor. The subsequent election was the result of campaigning where we finally won the local. The new officers were installed.

Over the years since then, we have followed a line of combating the UE on a Communist level. We intend to do so in the future as far as we can.

I may point out that in May of 1955, before the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings, Mr. Poleschuk took the fifth amendment. At that time, even though at an executive board hearing I had instructed him to testify on behalf of his obligations to the Singer workers, he took the fifth, and we subsequently removed him from any office of the local for a period of 3 years, at which time we would again review his position.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that the general policy of the local?

Mr. TRUEBA. That is right. I felt that any officer that would not testify was not doing his job as an officer, or as a steward of the local. I felt it puts the onus on the Singer workers.

The overwhelming majority of Singer workers are good, decent Americans, and will have no truck with the followers of the party.

Subsequently, as I said, we removed him. That was the reason I asked the committee for a chance to appear the other day. I felt that the names of those who have been identified as party members should come out. I think that our people are entitled to know them as they will now.

Secondly, I have spoken, incidentally, to Mr. Lipari, as union president. He has told me if he is summoned he will testify to anything that he knows. We will be glad to tell you.

On the basis of Mr. Lipari and Mr. Schumann, I think I speak for the membership, especially with regard to Mr. Schumann, that I commend his coming before the committee. It is not an easy thing. But I think the union will also commend him for it.

Mr. MORRIS. In so doing, he clears the reputation of the union and the others who are not Communists.

Mr. TRUEBA. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. So you know exactly who the Communists are and something will be done about it.

Mr. TRUEBA. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Myrtle Schoen? She is still in the plant?

Mr. TRUEBA. Yes, but she does not hold any office in the union.

Mr. MORRIS. If she does, you will take some action?

Mr. TRUEBA. Definitely, unless she is to appear before the committee. I would like to have it in the record that I hope the committee does, as you pointed out, give these people the opportunity to appear to clear themselves, or state whatever position they take.

Senator HRUSKA. That is our regular policy. They will be afforded the chance, if they want to take it. We shall encourage them to do it. Is the UE still active in competing with you for jurisdiction there?

Mr. TRUEBA. The UE is virtually wiped out in our district, which is northern New Jersey and New York. I believe there is one shop in Jersey City, but it is practically extinct.

Senator HRUSKA. But they have not worked with you in recent years in regard to your jurisdiction?

Mr. TRUEBA. No; they haven't.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the practice of those people who have been identified as Communists, who have been leaders of the UE, but whose locals and districts have been absorbed by the IUE?

Mr. TRUEBA. Our international constitution prescribes that no one can be an officer who is a Communist or Fascist or follows the Communist line. I think the international's position would also be that anyone who would appear here and take the fifth amendment as an officer or representative of the international would be discharged.

Senator HRUSKA. You say the UE had been fading out. Has that been a gradual practice in the last 6 or 7 years?

Mr. TRUEBA. Yes; it has.

Senator HRUSKA. You mentioned one shop still existing. Where is that?

Mr. TRUEBA. I am not sure. I think it was in Jersey City, in one of the Westinghouse plants.

Senator HRUSKA. Is it a large local?

Mr. TRUEBA. No, and the company is in the process of moving the plant to Dover.

Senator HRUSKA. Would that have the effect of wiping out that particular local?

Mr. TRUEBA. I think it will.

Senator HRUSKA. There are no UE locals in Dover?

Mr. TRUEBA. No.

Mr. MORRIS. I might point out that that does not solve the situation as far as the subcommittee is concerned. We have the testimony of Mr. Wallace and other witnesses, together with Communist Party directives, that Communists in the UE have been ordered to get into the main part of the AFL-CIO, even at the risk of losing some of their leaders.

Senator HRUSKA. Some of the testimony before this committee indicates that they have been successful in penetrating those ranks. The committee is well aware of that. However, having rid the body politic of the union of trade unions dominated at one time by the Communist Party line, that is an achievement in itself. I think we should pay some tribute to those loyal and patriotic people of your local, Mr. Trueba, and of the international, which I would like to recognize.

As a committee, we want to recognize the good things and not have to get into those things that are not so good.

Mr. MORRIS. We would like to thank Mr. Trueba for coming forward here today.

Mr. TRUEBA. May I add one more thing? I know that the basic member in the local—it is my feeling that, in the 1949 strike, he was supporting it on a trade-union basis. We have had various strikes of various kinds. I have conducted them. It is a matter of negotiation. It is my own thinking that the member in the shop was supporting these strikes on a trade-union basis. Of course, in the light of the testimony of Mr. Wallace, I can see now that they were tied together. We had a trade-union issue and the Communist Party was using it to further their own ends in the union shop.

I hope that the evil, which I think caused it all—sometimes I think the lack of interest on the part of the members, as Monsignor Heimbach—incidentally, he has been very helpful to us—the lack of interest

and enthusiasm on the part of the members has made it easy for this situation to exist. If the rank-and-file member paid a little more attention to the situation around him, I think the problem would be much smaller in taking care of the Communist element that may try to put their ideas across.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No. I will give you a report as to what officials of the IUE can be here on Thursday.

Senator HRUSKA. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a. m., the hearing adjourned.)

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 8, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well; the committee will come to order.

Judge Morris, who is the first witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Cole, would you take the stand?

Mr. Chairman, this is a continuation of the hearings the subcommittee has been holding on the Communist penetration into the mainstream of American labor.

Senator HRUSKA. The witness having been sworn, you may proceed with your questions.

## TESTIMONY OF ARCHER COLE, ROSELLE, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. COLE. Archer Cole, 814 Chestnut Street, Roselle, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. I am an organizer for local 485, IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been an organizer for local 485 of the IUE?

Mr. COLE. Four months.

Mr. MORRIS. Four months?

Mr. COLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, how long have you been with the IUE?

Mr. COLE. Since May 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do between May 1956 and 4 months ago?

Mr. COLE. I was an international field representative for the IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you work?

Mr. COLE. I worked in the New York-Newark area.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever worked in Phillipsburg, N. J.?

Mr. COLE. Phillipsburg, N. J.? Yes; I did, in 1954 and 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. You were not with the IUE at that time?

Mr. COLE. I did work with the IUE in Phillipsburg in 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born, Mr. Cole?



Mr. COLE. In New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did you first become active in the trade-union movement?

Mr. COLE. I guess it was around 1938, when I worked for Western Union.

Mr. MORRIS. What union were you associated with at that time?

Mr. COLE. The CIO union, American Communications Association.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave the ACA?

Mr. COLE. At the time that I left the job.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. COLE. Around 1940.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Cole, three witnesses have told the subcommittee that you have been active in the Communist Party.

Do you know a man named William Wallace?

Mr. COLE. I know he testified here concerning the Singer strike—

Mr. MORRIS. He has testified specifically that you were a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. COLE. He made certain statements here about the strike which I would like to have a chance to clear the record on, because these statements were false in many, many respects.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, the question is, Mr. Cole: As Mr. Wallace testified, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLE. Well, he testified here, as I read his transcript, that I was; and I am going to assert my privilege not to testify against myself.

I don't think it is within the province of this committee to ask me that question.

However, I would like to have this opportunity to say that Mr. Wallace's statements in regard to the Singer strike and my role in it as triggering that strike in order to embarrass the Government and to affect national defense is entirely false. That was a trade-union strike, pure and simple, and my role was as a negotiator to attempt to settle it, and I have documentary proof that that was my role there.

And it was the Singer Co. which prolonged the strike and which attempted to refuse, rather, to answer any of the problems of the people during these negotiations.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you attending Communist Party meetings that formulated plans for that strike?

Mr. COLE. Well, you see, that is a loaded question.

Mr. MORRIS. No; it's not loaded. We have had testimony that you in fact attended Communist Party meetings at which plans were made to cause the strike.

Mr. COLE. I say it was only one group which planned the strike, and that was the workers in that shop who voted it, the executive board which posed the vote to the people. They were the only ones that planned that strike.

Mr. MORRIS. I submit, Senator, that the question has not been answered.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman agrees that the question has not been answered.

Did you attend Communist Party meetings at which plans were made to bring about the Singer Sewing Machine strike?

Mr. COLE. I am going to assert my privilege here.

However, I wanted to say that the only ones that planned the strike were the workers and the union in that strike, and that this was a result of many grievances of these people which had accumulated for years and which the record will show from newspapers and from every other union record available in the CIO that that was an economic strike and it received the support of the entire labor movement.

I might say that, on the second day of that strike, the company sent out Christmas greetings to the workers. I want to repeat that, Senator: On the second day of the strike the company on May 2—I have the article here, I would like to give it to you—the company sent out Christmas greetings saying they would never negotiate the issues in this strike and that they would be out until Christmas rather than negotiate around the issues of that strike.

I think it is the Singer Co. that should be indicted for prolonging that strike and not honest union officials that tried to settle it.

I made a statement in New York, which the New York News has—and I have it here, again—in which I would have called for arbitration of the strike the day before it began, arbitration of the key issue of the strike—the incentive problem.

So that this testimony here that this was some plot to embarrass the United States Government and national defense and that the workers were perfectly happy with their incentive system is not true, because in the middle of the strike, after 14 weeks, the Government conducted an election in this strike and all the issues were known and the workers voted by almost 2,000 votes to remain out on strike with their bargaining agent. The vote was 4,000 to 2,400. I know there was testimony here that we won by 200 votes.

I want to make it clear that there was no plot here other than a trade-union strike, legitimate grievances of workers which had to be rectified.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not tell us about what transpired at the Communist Party meetings where we have evidence that there was a plan drawn up for a strike?

Mr. COLE. I am not going to testify in this respect against myself, and I say there was no other plans, to my knowledge, other than the trade union in regard to the Singer strike, of longstanding grievances of the people.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you familiar with the organization known as the Singer Club of the Singer Co.?

Mr. COLE. I will use my privilege not to testify here against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you ever a member of the Singer Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. COLE. The answer is the same, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. There was testimony given to this committee that you were chairman of that Singer Club and very active in its affairs and that it took a part in the plans of that Singer strike and in some of the bases for negotiations of the Singer strike.

Were you so active in that Singer Club for those purposes?

Mr. COLE. I assert my same privilege and I say that the only plans that were discussed, as far as I know, for the running of that strike was in the trade union.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, the Chair would like to observe there certainly has been a difference of opinion in this regard. There is positive and affirmative testimony the other way and, of course, as long as you assert your fifth-amendment privileges against self-incrimination, we are going to observe them and comply with them.

Mr. COLE. Well Senator, isn't the history of that strike important for this committee to learn? Because certain untrue allegations were made—the plant was not on defense.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman would like to call the attention of the witness to the fact that William Wallace was under oath when he testified, and you are under oath.

Mr. COLE. I understand that.

Senator HRUSKA. There appears to be a conflict of evidence; but that doesn't mean that your evidence, particularly when you won't give us the whole story, that your evidence is necessarily the evidence that will be accepted by this committee as true.

Mr. COLE. I understand that. But I think in regard to the public, you see, so many newspaper headlines were made that we were using this strike for a guinea pig and not one person has yet come forward about the strike.

Senator HRUSKA. We are trying to get the truth. We are asking you questions; we give you your opportunity now to disclose what you consider the truth so that we can get at the truth.

Mr. COLE. That is what I am trying to do, under difficult circumstances.

Senator HRUSKA. We understand they are difficult, but they are difficulties not of our making.

Mr. COLE. I will say this: That in order to avert the strike, we called on the mayor of Elizabeth 2 days prior to the strike and sat in his office for 22 hours prior to the strike and the company attorney said—and I am quoting what he said at that time—the mayor hit the ceiling—

Mr. ROSSMOORE. Just a minute, Mr. Cole.

I am William Rossmore, 60 Park Place, Newark, N. J., and I am counsel for Mr. Cole.

Senator, I request that the newspapermen either take Mr. Cole's picture before or after he gives his testimony. I don't think his testimony should be interrupted.

Senator HRUSKA. Your request will be granted and the photographers will act accordingly. They will be given a chance to take their pictures after the testimony has been given.

Mr. COLE. The company attorney said, "We are going to teach these workers a lesson." Not the union, mind you, but the workers, because they said their grievances were frivolous and yet those workers stayed out for that length of time in order to try to solve them and voted in the middle of the strike to continue it despite all these charges hurled at the union that it was, as the company said, a Communist plot to embarrass the Government and interfere with national defense, and I wonder when I hear that reiteration here, that it is Communist propaganda, pure and simple, because they refused to meet fact to face with the union for 4 months during that strike, and—

Mr. MORRIS. Excuse me, Mr. Cole. I submit at this time, Senator, when the witness is denying, it seems to me when the witness is de-



nying that it was Communist propaganda to do a certain thing and at the same time refuses to answer questions by claiming his privilege under the fifth amendment, that it may well be that he is waiving his privilege there, and maybe we can ask him——

Mr. COLE. You missed the point. I said the company stated in their letters that was a Communist plot and I say that that was disproven by the vote the people took. The people had a chance to determine whether they wanted to remain on strike after 14 months on strike, and they voted to remain out by 2,000.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman would like to observe that by being given what amounts to an expurgated set of facts here by reason of your assertion of privilege in certain areas, it is difficult to judge very charitably the balance of the testimony which you are giving.

I understand your situation and your difficulties, but again I want to say that those difficulties are not of our making.

I would like to suggest, Judge Morris, that you ask further questions, if you will, and we will try to get responsive answers if we can. We have gone far enough along this line.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever discuss this strike with Martha Stone, Communist Party organizer?

Mr. COLE. I am going to assert my privilege here.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have had testimony from Ernest Charles Moyer on March 29, 1955, that the witness here was a member of the Communist Party.

Do you know Ernest Charles Moyer?

Mr. COLE. I knew him, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. He testified that you were active in the Communist Party around Phillipsburg, N. J. Was that accurate testimony?

Mr. COLE. If I recall his testimony, sir, I don't think he said that. I think he said—he was asked in that hearing whether he knew me and he said he did and whether he thought I was a Communist and he said yes. He said he hadn't been at any meetings with me nor had he ever discussed the question with me. That was the testimony I read, at least.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, so that the testimony itself is in the record, Subcommittee Counsel Arens asked, "And is he a person—"—speaking of Cole—"who to your certain knowledge was a member of the Communist Party?" Mr. Moyer said, "Yes, sir." And Mr. Sourwine, counsel, said, "Now, describe Archer Cole." The answer was, "He is 5 feet 8, dark complected, weight 140 pounds."

"When did you last see him?"

"About a month ago."

"How did you know Archer Cole was a Communist?"

"Because Walter Barry told me he was."

Were you in fact a Communist?

Mr. COLE. I assert my privilege here.

Mr. MORRIS. The testimony, Mr. Chairman, of Louis Schumann this past week, was that Mr. Cole was a member of the Communist Party and he knew you as a member of the Communist Party and worked with you. That was his testimony.

Mr. COLE. I assert my privilege here.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Schumann further testified that after you had been served a subpoena and after a subpoena had been sent out to Mr. Schu-



mann but before it was served upon him that you called upon Mr. Schumann and asked him if he had in fact gotten a lawyer.

Was that accurate testimony?

Mr. COLE. I would like to describe the circumstances of that.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed.

Mr. COLE. Mr. Schumann is my neighbor that lives about a mile away. I was served late Saturday afternoon, and I think it was Sunday morning and I went over to his house and told him I had been served, and since we had been named just 2 days before, I said I was going to Newark the next day to seek counsel and did he need counsel. That was the nature of our discussion. He said at that point that he didn't believe he would want it and about 2 minutes later I left.

Senator HRUSKA. Is that the full extent of the conversation between you two?

Mr. COLE. In addition to that, he stated that he was going to testify freely. I said—I think he asked me about myself. I said, as for myself, I didn't feel that I would get involved here because of certain of the allegations made here.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, you are saying, Mr. Cole, that you joined local 485 in May 1956. Of what labor local were you a member prior to that time?

Mr. COLE. I testified I joined IUE May 1956, and before that I was a member of United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Senator HRUSKA. And in what capacity were you active with them?

Mr. COLE. International representative.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you any further questions, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Senator, I have. Were you a Communist, Mr. Cole, when you were a member of the ACA, American Communications Association?

Mr. COLE. I assert my privileges here.

Mr. MORRIS. One more question. May I ask you if you are now a Communist, Mr. Cole?

Mr. COLE. I assert my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of the witness, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, the witness is excused.

Mr. MORRIS. We will now have Mr. Cameron testify.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Cameron, will you be seated, please?

The witness having been already sworn, Judge Morris, you may proceed with the questions.

(The testimony of Mr. Cameron follows:)

#### TESTIMONY OF CLIFTON CAMERON, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Cameron, will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. CAMERON. I am sorry, I didn't hear you.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. CAMERON. My name is Clifton Cameron. My address is 1110 Carroll Street—2 r's and 2 l's in that—Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. CAMERON. I am the business manager of local 485 of the IUE, CIO-A. F. of L.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you represented by counsel today?

Mr. FRAENKEL. Yes, sir; Osmond K. Fraenkel, 120 Broadway, New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Cameron, what is local 485?

Mr. CAMERON. It is a local that is composed of some eighty-odd shops in the Brooklyn area, and its office is at 160 Montague Street. It is the local whose members appeared before the McClellan committee last Friday and has been very active in fighting against gangsterism and corruption.

As a matter of fact, we have liberated about 11 racket-ridden shops from the racketeers, involving some 500 workers.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are there in your union?

Mr. CAMERON. Approximately 4,250.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Mr. Charles Fay the president of that local?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Cameron, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I submit that that answer is not responsive to the question.

Senator HRUSKA. The answer was not responsive. You may ask the question again.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Cameron, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privileges against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended meetings of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. CAMERON. Judge Morris, I am prepared to answer any and all questions about my activities since I have become a member of the IUE, Local 485, since May 17, 1956; and I would assert my privileges on my activities prior to that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony, Mr. Cameron, that you are going to say that you were not a member of the Communist Party on May 18, 1956?

Mr. CAMERON. That is true, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How about May 16, 1956, the day before you joined the IUE?

Mr. CAMERON. I would assert my privileges on my activities prior to May 17, 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what happened vis-a-vis you and the Communist Party on May 16, 1956?

Mr. CAMERON. I didn't understand the question.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened between you and the Communist Party in 1956 to cause you to answer the two questions as you have just answered them?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment on that question.

Mr. MORRIS. The reason, Senator, I ask that question is that very often, in order to decide the precise nature of the Communist Party, we have to know the circumstances surrounding a person's defection from the Communist Party, if there is a defection.

Speaking purely hypothetically, I don't want to be unfair, Counsel, but very often we have a situation where for certain tactical reasons

a person can effect a resignation from the Communist Party, and in order to really determine whether or not these defections are genuine, we feel we should know the circumstances surrounding the departure.

Mr. Schumann was very direct and candid when he told us about his defection from the party, and we were able to form our own judgment on that.

That is why it is important that we know, Mr. Cameron and counsel, of the circumstances of a person's defection from the Communist Party if there has been a defection.

Mr. FRAENKEL. May I be allowed to say something?

Senator HRUSKA. Surely.

Mr. FRAENKEL. Where a witness admits prior membership in the party, claims that he severed it; it is, of course, appropriate to find out the circumstances under which he severed, to test his good faith in his contentions and so on.

I just had an interesting case that has been all the way up to the court of appeals in New York, of a college teacher being reinstated because the court found he had severed in good faith.

But where a witness asserts privilege under self-incrimination with respect to Communist Party membership at some time, he cannot answer the question which has just been put because that would be a denial of his claim of privilege by constituting admission that he was at one time a member of the Communist Party.

Therefore, it seems to me that the statement by the witness that he claimed his privilege is perfectly logical and is the only answer which he can make in view of the position which he has previously taken.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I get back to the question that I think caused Mr. Cameron to answer and counsel to intervene?

The question was, Have you attended in the past meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended Communist Party meetings with Charles Fay, the president of local 485?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the Daily Worker of June 2, 1935, page 8, lists you as a speaker at a forum sponsored in New York by the New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade, which is an organization that has been recently declared to be a subversive organization by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Did you in fact speak at this New York rally of the American Peace Crusade, on presumably June 2, 1935?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege and decline to answer—my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the Daily Worker of January 3, 1952, page 6, lists you as a speaker at a labor symposium on "We Charge Genocide," sponsored by the trade union committee.

Did you in fact speak at that labor meeting described in the Daily Worker?

Mr. CAMERON. My answer is the same, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. The Daily Worker of January 15, 1952, reported that you participated in a freedom of the press rally.



Mr. Mandel, will you explain what the freedom of the press rally is?

Mr. MANDEL. That name was given to rallies for the support of the Daily Worker, the Communist paper.

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you contributed articles to the March of Labor?

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer that question, sir, for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you participated in a meeting of the Brooklyn Citizens Committee Against the Mundt Bill?

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer that question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a speaker at the rallies under the auspices of the American Labor Party in the 1950's?

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer that question for the same reason, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Martha Stone?

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer that question for the same reason.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Cameron, with what labor organization were you affiliated prior to May 17, 1956?

Mr. CAMERON. Local 475 of the United Electrical Workers, Independent.

Senator HRUSKA. And in what capacity were you engaged by them?

Mr. CAMERON. Business manager.

Senator HRUSKA. And for how long?

Mr. CAMERON. Since from about the middle of 1946, June or July of 1946.

Senator HRUSKA. When did you first become active in the trade-union movement and where?

Mr. CAMERON. In Bayonne, N. J., I first became active in the same union, the United Electrical Workers. I think the local number was 439, but I am not sure of that now. It later became 427.

Senator HRUSKA. To your knowledge, are any of the members of local 485 members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I have seen no evidence, none has been called to my attention, of any Communist activity in the local and therefore I must assume there are no Communists in the local.

Senator HRUSKA. To your knowledge are there any members of local 485 who are Communist Party members?

Mr. CAMERON. I don't have any knowledge of it.

Senator HRUSKA. To your knowledge were any members of the local of the UEW with which you were active prior to 1956, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment on that, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. To your knowledge have any of the members of local 485 attended Communist meetings and otherwise evidenced an interest in the activities of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. As members of local 485, I have no knowledge of it.

Senator HRUSKA. I will ask that same question with reference to the members of the UE local with which you were affiliated and active in at one time.

Mr. CAMERON. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment, Senator.



Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Morris, have you any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Mr. CAMERON. Judge Morris, could I have a chance to say something—I'm sorry—Senator?

Senator HRUSKA. Concerning what?

Mr. CAMERON. You talked about some of my activities in local 485. I don't want to make a long statement; I just have a couple things I want to say that I have been doing.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. CAMERON. Because I am very proud of the record our local has built up.

We were one of the first locals to wade into the racketeers in New York. At one time I was very badly beaten in a fight in the Bronx. The New York Post carried stories of it, and it was in two shops in our local that Johnny Dio, who I understand is going to appear before the McClellan committee today, came to a head-on collision and he couldn't break us there.

I was under subpoena as a State's witness and testified before the grand jury. Our local has been extremely active in community activities.

I personally was given an award from the Urban League and we have been given an award by the NAACP for our activities.

We have been commended by the Association of the Catholic Trade Unionists for our activities.

As a matter of fact, we have cooperated with them when they testified before the McClellan committee.

I thought it was important to put some of these things on the record as positive evidence of our activities to try to meet the obligations of our union, the IUE, which I regard as a very fine union, and our obligations to adhere scrupulously to its constitution and program and policy.

Senator HRUSKA. And in connection with fighting these rackets within your union, have you made affirmative efforts to search them out and track them down in their activities?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, sir; yes, sir. As a matter of fact, if I might for just a moment here—Senator, this is the record of Friday's hearing, a portion of it, before the McClellan committee.

For example—I will have to put my glasses on, I don't see too good—I just wanted to say, for example, in a shop called Century Enterprises in the Bronx, which was a local of the Allied Industrial Workers, which was reputed to be a local of the Allied Industrial Workers, we went after that shop and the workers were referred to us, as testified to at the McClellan committee, by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; and in the election that was finally held under the auspices of the National Labor Relations Board, our local got 106 votes, there was 1 vote for no union, and the Allied Industrial Workers got no votes.

Senator HRUSKA. Why did you become interested in this racket business within the union?

Mr. CAMERON. I am sure, Senator, that any employer whom we have relations with can be prepared to testify that we are very hard bargainers but scrupulously honest.

Senator HRUSKA. What occasioned your inquiry into the rackets?

Mr. CAMERON. I will tell you what occasioned—

Senator HRUSKA. Was some evidence of racketeering brought to your attention?

Mr. CAMERON. I will tell you what occasioned us into that. In this King's Electroplating, the shop where the employer was supposed to have paid \$10,000 to Dio, it was our shop and he was trying to get rid of us. We struck the shop to fight off the racketeers.

And then another occasion, where the employer wanted to make another move in the shop in the Bronx, and we struck that shop in order to protect our contract and the bargaining rights for our workers. That was the shop where I got beaten up pretty badly. I had my head cut open and one eye closed up; one of my associates got a number of ribs broken.

Our local has a great majority of Spanish-speaking workers, and as you know, many of these Spanish-speaking workers were under members in these rackets and they have come to us and asked us to help out our friends, their relatives and friends in these places.

It has been a combination of these things that make us do this. We have had, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 shops involving over 500 workers where we have taken on racketeers in the past few months and these are all the press releases for them.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, now, it is assumed, from your testimony here, that you felt that the activities which you describe were harmful to your union and to trade unionism as such, and therefore you proceeded to deal with them and expose them the best way you knew how.

Have you made similar effort into inquiries of Communists or subversives in any way who might be active in the same direction with the same goals in mind of inflicting harm upon your union and using it for purposes which are ulterior or unpatriotic or dishonest?

Have you made any similar inquiry or check into those things?

Mr. CAMERON. In my local, Senator, I know of no such activities.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you made inquiry as to any activities of that kind or any alliances or any memberships of that nature of any of the members of your union who might be so minded?

Mr. CAMERON. It is understood in our union local that we must adhere and are adhering willingly, vigorously, to the constitution of the IUE, which has an anti-Communist clause in it.

Senator HRUSKA. We understand that; and yet the number is legion of trade unions in which there have been Communists and whose constitutional language is just as glorious as yours in phraseology. The Communists glory in the constitution whenever it is to their advantage to do so—even if it is the Federal Constitution.

That is still not an answer, and I would like to know. Have you made an affirmative and vigorous inquiry into subversion and communism within your union as you have with racketeers and hoodlums?

Mr. CAMERON. The point I want to make clear, Senator, is there were no racketeers in our union. It was things that were brought to us, and there has been nothing brought to my attention of any subversive activity.

Senator HRUSKA. There has been testimony before this committee that certain of the members in local 485 have been, in the past, active in the Communist Party; that they have been members of the Com-

munist Party; and that has surely come to your attention, has it not, Mr. Witness, through the press and through the testimony given before this committee?

Mr. CAMERON. Some of the testimony has come to my attention that has been given to the committee.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you concerned yourself with it at all? Have you made any inquiry about it? Have you made any similar effort in that line as you have with these rackets which have threatened your union, or don't you consider it that important?

Mr. CAMERON. I consider being patriotic in fighting against subversion as important as anything else.

Senator HRUSKA. But not to the extent of making a search or inquiry into it, although these have been called to your attention; is that what you want to tell the committee?

Mr. CAMERON. No, sir, Senator. To my knowledge, in our local union, there's been absolutely no evidence of that brought to our attention, my attention.

Senator HRUSKA. What about these persons to whom your attention has been directed because of testimony before this committee? The testimony of William Wallace, for example. Did that concern you; did that bother you any? Did you consider that your patriotism stopped at the time that William Wallace and others have disclosed that these people who were once active in the Communist Party are now members of local 485?

Mr. CAMERON. I must say that in local 485, to my knowledge, there is no evidence of any kind of activity such as you refer to here.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there any member of local 485 who is presently a member or who was active in the Communist Party in recent years, to your knowledge?

Mr. CAMERON. I must assert my privilege on that.

Senator HRUSKA. What about the last witness who testified in this committee room just prior to you and during which time you were present here? What about Archer Cole?

Mr. CAMERON. During the period that Archer Cole has been a member of our local, he has adhered to its constitution and carried out its policy and program, which is consistent with that of our international union in every iota, so far as I know.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you know he had been active in the Communist Party in some of his affairs and some of its doings?

Mr. CAMERON. I must assert my privilege on that question, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you make inquiry of him since that time and since he joined the local 485 in May 1956 as to whether or not he has discontinued his activity in the Communist Party and disaffiliated himself with it?

Mr. CAMERON. In connection with that, my job, Senator, is to see that the members of the organization's staff of our union carry out the program and policy of the union. That is my job, and Archer Cole is so doing and he is bound by the constitution to carry this program and policy out.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman is aware that you are, apparently, trying to do a good job. But I don't like the inference, Mr. Witness, that you are trying to do a good job with reference to hoodlums and racketeers that might be threatening your union and yet you shut



your eyes so completely and are indifferent to other threats which face you and your country and, apparently, do nothing about it, and, if you have done something about it, what is it you have done?

Mr. CAMERON. Let me say one of the very best guaranties, I believe, in any local union that no organization or no group will influence is to have the membership run the union, and, as a matter of fact, we have established a policy in our local union which, I think, is one that is really dedicated to the guaranty that the membership participates in the union. We have established a rule that each shop must meet each month; each shop must meet each month so there is an opportunity for the worker to make the decisions.

Our contracts are required to be accepted only by vote by the membership. Our strikes can only be called by votes of the membership. So, there is no chance for anybody to exert any influence over the membership other than the members themselves.

Senator HRUSKA. I think that is commendable; it is laudable; it is very fine. But have you made any effort to inquire as to the present affiliations of local 485 members with the Communist Party in instances where they have been known to be active in Communist Party affairs prior to their becoming members of the local 485?

Mr. CAMERON. I will say again, Senator, that, to my knowledge, there is no activity of such kind in the local and—

Senator HRUSKA. I am not talking about activity. I am talking about people who were at one time active in the Communist Party and who are now members of local 485.

Mr. CAMERON. Do I know any such people?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know any present members of local 485 who in the past have been active in the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I must assert my privilege on that question, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. That is very revealing to the chairman, and I am sure the record will speak for itself as to others.

Now, Mr. Witness, Fred Gardner, who has stated—

Mr. MORRIS. Pardon me, Senator.

Mr. CAMERON, do you know Fred Gardner?

Mr. CAMERON. I am not sure whether I do or not. I think he was an international representative of the UE, but I am not sure.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, Mr. Witness, Fred Gardner said that you were business agent of the old local 75 in the UE and that you were a very dedicated member of the Communist Party and often on top policymaking groups. What comment would you have on that statement by Fred Gardner?

Mr. CAMERON. I would decline to answer, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you aware that Archer Cole at one time was active in the affairs of the Communist Party?

Mr. CAMERON. I decline to answer that question, based on my privileges of self incrimination of the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair would just like to observe that it is very fine for witnesses to come before this committee and parade their virtues of fighting some vice or other and danger to their country and then show by their refusal to answer pertinent questions that they are completely indifferent to the existence of another clear and present danger with which they don't concern themselves whatsoever.



Have you other questions, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I would suggest one way, which you started, Senator, for Mr. Cameron to have ascertained whether there were any Communists still in 485 was to ask a man like Archer Cole, who, according to three witnesses, at least, who have testified, was in the party.

Senator HRUSKA. The witness has already made clear he has no interest and has not interested himself in the slightest with that type of danger. He is apparently selective in his choosing danger, and he has made clear that he has not bothered about asking anybody, regardless of his background.

Unless the witness has something to comment upon, I don't know that there is any further progress we can make in that direction.

Mr. MORRIS. I think the record should show, Senator, that we asked the witness to testify back in May or June, several months ago, did we not?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And the subcommittee has given you several adjournments for various reasons, some at your request and some at the request of outside forces and some at the request of your attorney. You have had three adjournments.

Mr. CAMERON. I think the record will show I have only two. I first got the subpoena and called you and told you I didn't have an attorney, and you gave me an adjournment, and I engaged Mr. Fraenkel as my attorney.

The second subpoena was the same day or period of time that I had a subpoena also from the district attorney as a State's witness in the Dio trial.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the second adjournment.

Mr. CAMERON. That is all I have had.

Mr. MORRIS. I think we have one more.

Mr. CAMERON. They were both simultaneous. Mr. Fraenkel was on vacation.

Mr. FRAENKEL. Mr. Cameron is right. The occasion when he, through the district attorney, obtained an adjournment was the same occasion that I asked for an adjournment for Mr. Fay because I was away in Vermont.

Mr. MORRIS. I want the record to show, Senator, that we have been very patient in asking these IUE local officials to testify. Mr. Cole, I think, has been subpoenaed for—how long, about 3 weeks?

Mr. COLE. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long?

Mr. COLE. Exactly 10 days; and we had 1 postponement, exactly 1 postponement.

Mr. FRAENKEL. No one has complained to me that it was inconsiderate.

Mr. CAMERON. I want the record to show that I went to the State's district attorney because I couldn't be in both places at the same time. I suggested he ought to talk to you.

Senator HRUSKA. That was one of the occasions for postponement.

Mr. CAMERON. Yes. That was when I first called.

Mr. MORRIS. I have nothing further, Senator.

We have more subpoenas here. It has been suggested to us that we allow some of the local officials of this IUE a little time to talk to the

international officers in the hope that they may be more responsive to questions.

We had a hearing scheduled for next Tuesday, and I have taken the liberty to extend that further along, just in the hope that their answers might be more productive.

Senator HRUSKA. And not have the hearing on Tuesday?

Mr. MORRIS. We have scheduled a hearing on the Singer strike for that day and given the witnesses who would have appeared that day additional time.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. If there is nothing further, the committee is in adjournment.

(Whereupon, at 11:03 a. m., the hearing was adjourned.)



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

(Inside the Communist Movement)

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

### SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY UNITED STATES SENATE EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS FIRST SESSION ON SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

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AUGUST 14, 1957

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PART 79

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL  
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 9:35 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator William E. Jenner presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator JENNER. The committee will come to order.

The witness will be sworn.

Do you swear that the testimony you give in this hearing will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss HORVATH. I do.

Senator JENNER. Proceed, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. We have here, Senator, a witness who I believe is competent to give testimony about recent developments in the Communist Party, the subject that is under consideration by the Internal Security Subcommittee at this time.

Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

## TESTIMONY OF STEPHANIE HORVATH, DETECTIVE, NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

Miss HORVATH. Stephanie Horvath, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Miss HORVATH. I am employed by the New York City Police Department, holding the rank of detective.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could give the subcommittee a short description of your duties?

Miss HORVATH. In 1943, shortly after I was appointed to the police department, I was assigned to undercover work, and requested to seek entry into the Communist Party and report on the members and their activities.

I was a member of the Communist Party from 1943 to the end of 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you joined the police department in 1943?

Miss HORVATH. 1942.

Mr. MORRIS. Did they ask you to go into the Communist Party?

Miss HORVATH. Yes. I was specially assigned by the police department to become a Communist for the police department. I did not do that of my own volition.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

And then you reported back to the police department; is that correct?

Miss HORVATH. I reported back to the police department until I was expelled from the party. And since my expulsion I have maintained my contacts. Well, I have been kept in subversive-activities work which has kept me abreast of what has happened in the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you get reports from those in the Communist Party?

Miss HORVATH. Yes. I am still assigned to cover meetings which I report on and all the information which comes in from different agencies is thoroughly studied by me so that I have a pretty good knowledge of the present situation.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you officially report when you learn what goes on in the Communist Party to the New York police special squad?

Miss HORVATH. And whatever agency might be interested, also.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. You do cooperate with other agencies?

Miss HORVATH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could, based on your experience, tell us what the recent developments have been in the Communist Party as a result of the recent Supreme Court decisions?

Miss HORVATH. Well, as I see it, following the end of World War II, and even in the subsequent period of the cold war, the Communist Party in the United States was at that time at its numeric peak. The Communists were not fearful of openly declaring themselves to be members of the Communist Party, nor did they expect dire consequences, except for the small minority who, because of party orders or possibly jeopardizing their livelihood, could not reveal such affiliation.

Publicly announced and advertised meetings and rallies were filled to overflowing, and collections taken up thereat in the name of the Communist Party or its numerous front organizations were always responded to generously. It was not until after the initial blow came—and that was in the form of the first trial of the 11 Communist leaders in Foley Square, wherein they were charged with violation of the Smith Act—that the Communist Party structure first began to weaken.

All throughout that first trial it seemed as if the strong support of the comrades and their open contempt for the effectiveness of the Smith Act insofar as it could curb their activities or penalize them for membership in the Communist Party might affect the decision of the Court.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were in the Communist Party then; were you not?

Miss HORVATH. No; I had already been expelled.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you expelled?

Miss HORVATH. At the end of 1947.

The slow but steady decline in the rank and file membership has been fully realized by the Communist Party as more and more of their leaders and comrades have been tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Ranking as No. 1 on their program has been the weakening or repeal of the Smith Act, the provisions of which the Communist Party has

consistently attacked as being the primary cause of the decline and loss of membership.

Closely related to the Smith Act have been the investigations into Communist activities by the congressional committees and the hearings conducted by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Their adverse decisions on Communist-front organizations and individuals has made deep inroads on the so-called Communist sympathizer who, more often than not, was actually a Communist Party member. Added to this, the publication of the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations and the disclosure of the true purpose and identity of the leaders of the group was another blow to Communist Party membership.

The loyalty oath required not only of persons in Government employ but more and more adopted in private industry has had its effect on weakening the party.

Loss of union affiliation because of Communist Party membership and the subsequent housecleaning of Red leaders in unions has caused still another gap in Communist ranks.

Further, the fear of deportation on grounds of having been a member of the Communist Party at the time of naturalization or if convicted under the Smith Act has had a powerful effect and added to the party's decline. The ever-growing list of difficulties facing the Communist Party on the domestic front and the resultant reduction in the numbers was heightened by the growing unrest and nationalist stirrings in the Soviet dominated and controlled satellites.

Its climax was reached with the outbreak of the Hungarians. The horrors and cruelties of the repressive measures taken by the Communists, and the revelation of the truth by thousands of Hungarian refugees, many of whom had been Communists themselves, was more than many Communists in the United States could swallow.

Yet despite all the obstacles, adversity, and confusion which caused the Communist Party to shrink in numbers through the past years, the hard-core, die-hard party members have never given up hope that their party would some day be rearmed for the battle and would again resume a place as the leaders of the American people.

That shot in the arm which has revitalized the Communist Party and evoked joyous prospects for the future of the party has been the Supreme Court decisions on the Smith Act. Communists have seized upon these decisions as their salvation from the provisions of this act.

Concentrated effort and a vigorous campaign to completely nullify the Smith Act through application of these decisions was the principal theme dominating the welcome home rally and reception for released Smith Act violators.

Mr. MORRIS. Give us some quotes of what went on at this Communist meeting.

Miss HORVATH. This was the report I took.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the date of that?

Miss HORVATH. It was held Wednesday, July 24, 1957, at Carnegie Hall. There were about 1,400 people there.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you attended it?

Miss HORVATH. Yes. I attended it and took stenographic notes of what the speakers said.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone interfere with your doing that?



Miss HORVATH. No.

Ben Davis was the chairman of the meeting, and John Gates was one of the speakers, John having been convicted for violation of the Smith Act.

Among the things that John Gates said was:

The recent decisions of the Supreme Court, as our chairman, Ben Davis, has said, was a victory for the whole American people. I am proud of the modest but very important part that the Daily Worker played in helping to bring about this victory, and in particular I am proud of the role we played in helping to bring about the release of Bob Thompson.

Now we are going to launch another campaign because, although the Smith Act has received a very heavy blow with the Supreme Court decisions, and although the tide in our country is against such reprehensible laws as the Smith Act, it is not yet dead and will not be dead so long as Winston, Green, and Potash are still in jail, and so long as other convictions are hanging over the heads of many of our comrades.

The recent Supreme Court decision threw out the organizing section of the Smith Act indictments; that is, that we were accused of organizing the Communist Party in 1945 as an organization which taught and advocated destruction of the Government.

Another speaker was Pettis Perry, recently released from Federal prison:

I think, comrades, we have a special responsibility here, taking into account the new energy and initiative that the American people have begun to show, which has reflected itself in the Supreme Court decisions involving the Communist Party. Take this as a new impetus against lingering McCarthyism in our country. I think there is every reason to feel and believe that it is possible for us to bring into being in the United States a broad, yes, and serious, movement for amnesty for Comrades Green and Winston.

Eugene Dennis, convicted under the Smith Act stated——

Mr. MORRIS. He has been the head of the party?

Miss HORVATH. Yes. He was secretary.

He said:

Further, I would like to salute the host of non-Communist defenders of democracy and peace, many of whom likewise felt the blow of reaction and victimization. Their stanchness and efforts helped create the change in political climate that checked McCarthyism and made possible the significant June 17 decisions of the Supreme Court.

Paul Novick stated:

The Supreme Court decisions in the California Smith Act case in the Jencks-Watkins case substantiated it.

And he said:

The defense of the rights of the Communists is the first line of defense of American principles.

John T. McManus, editor of the National Guardian, and long a Communist sympathizer, stated:

It is, in my opinion, no accident that the Warren Court—and Warren is no accident either—had the courage and determination to right the wrongs of the Vinson Court. \* \* \*

I think we must look back also over the behavior of some of the Federal judiciary, and set aside a special niche for Justices Black and Douglas, and I think we should recognize the tremendous force of the dissent of Judge William Hastie and Judge Lazarus in the Pittsburgh cases.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that a direct quote? Were they direct quotes?

Miss HORVATH. These are all verbatim quotes, yes.

Senator JENNER. You were at the meeting?

Miss HORVATH. Yes, sir.

Senator JENNER. You took this down in shorthand?

Miss HORVATH. I did. I have my notes.

McManus also stated:

I wonder whether we can truthfully rejoice that the reign of terror is over. It seems in view of the Supreme Court decisions that no further Smith Act cases can again be undertaken, and those under prosecution must be quashed. It seems that the FBI's nest of rumors and lies must go to wrack or be forced out into the open if they try to use them.

Mr. MORRIS. So, all in all, you say that the Communists have derived a great deal of satisfaction from this decision?

Miss HORVATH. Yes. They are rejoicing over what they consider one of their biggest victories since the party began to decline.

I have still another quote from Weinstock. Would you like to hear it?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Miss HORVATH. Weinstock, who made the collection speech, prefaced his appeal for funds—

Mr. MORRIS. All of these people are Communist leaders; are they not?

Miss HORVATH. Yes.

Louis Weinstock was convicted under the Smith Act and recently released from Federal prison. He asked for funds in order to—

declare null and void all the indictments and to return citizenship rights to everyone of us who has spent time in jail.

Then he said:

I would like to say a word about the Supreme Court decisions.

I had to go down to Foley Square on July 5 or 6 and report to the parole officer, tell him where I worked, what time I went home last night, what I did with the money I earned, and who I associated with. I walked in the office and he said, "You know, Mr. Weinstock, I was thinking of you all day today."

Mr. MORRIS. This is the parole officer speaking?

Miss HORVATH. Yes.

Now, this is Weinstock:

I felt then he must be a social worker of the prison bureau.

He said, "The Supreme Court ruled that to teach and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence is not a crime. So what did you spend time in jail for?"

That was the parole officer.

Then Weinstock said:

So I said to the man, "First of all, I never advocated it, so I couldn't have been sent to jail because I was found guilty of the charge."

Then the parole officer said:

You know, Mr. Weinstock, you shouldn't feel too bad or feel frustrated.

Then Weinstock:

I looked at the poor guy and said, "Up to July 22 I can't say anything. But after July 22, you will hear from me and my friends many times. And it is not going to be frustration."

The same day I read the remarks made by one Senator who said that the Supreme Court Judges should be impeached. The others said that they should be upheld in the eyes of the people of the United States as people who are defending the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And he said this is actually what the Communists have been doing ever since they have been carrying on their activities.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the meaning of that last thing?

Miss HORVATH. Well, I got the impression that he meant by his remarks that the public is beginning to be more and more impressed with the incorrectness of the Smith Act, especially as applied to the Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean he was trying to say that the Communists are good people, after all?

Miss HORVATH. That is right; that they are not so wrong.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, that is the area I wanted to traverse with the witness. I have nothing further.

Senator JENNER. The committee will stand in recess. We may want you to come back at some later time.

(Whereupon, at 9:50 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES  
(Extent of Communist Activity in Labor)

---

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

---

AUGUST 13 AND 15, 1957

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PART 80

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SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:35 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee will come to order.

Judge Morris, we have this morning, I understand, two witnesses present in the committee room, one of whom, however, has requested that he be given an opportunity to consult with his superiors, and also to obtain counsel. His name is——

Mr. MORRIS. Milton Felsen.

Mr. Felsen, will you come forward just a minute?

Senator HRUSKA. You are appearing here in response to subpoena served on you?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, so that we may show you have responded to the subpoena?

Mr. FELSEN. Milton Felsen, F-e-l-s-e-n, 18 Manitou Trail, White Plains, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. You are an international representative of the IUE?

Mr. FELSEN. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. In the executive session, Mr. Felsen indicated his desire for an opportunity to consult with his superiors, and also to obtain counsel. That request has been granted, and you will keep in touch, Mr. Felsen, with Judge Morris here?

Mr. FELSEN. Certainly.

Senator HRUSKA. Later in the day, he will inform you when you will appear. Very likely it will be a week from today. That will be subject to confirmation from him.

Judge Morris, have you any observations to make?

Mr. MORRIS. None at all.

Thank you, Mr. Felsen. If you want to ask anything else about committee procedure, or anything, feel free to call.

Mr. FELSEN. Thank you.

Senator HRUSKA. Do we have another witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Douglas Barrett.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Barrett has been sworn.

**TESTIMONY OF DOUGLAS W. BARRETT, DENVILLE, N. J., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM ROSSMOORE, HIS COUNSEL**

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address for the public record?

Mr. BARRETT. Douglas W. Barrett, 44 Summit Drive, Denville, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. You are accompanied by counsel?

Mr. ROSSMOORE. Yes. I am William Rossmore, 60 Park Place, Newark, N. J.

Senator HRUSKA, I have asked the gentlemen of the press to confine their picture taking to the beginning or the end of the hearing. I wonder if that would be in accord with the committee?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes, that will be in accord with the subcommittee. I want to say that the photographers and the press have been most cooperative in these matters.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Barrett, where were you born?

Mr. BARRETT. Boston, Mass.

Mr. MORRIS. What has been your education?

Mr. BARRETT. Public schools, high school, 2 years at the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave the University of Wisconsin?

Mr. BARRETT. In 1938, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first become affiliated with the trade union movement?

Mr. BARRETT. Excuse me.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BARRETT. Just what do you mean by affiliated?

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first become active in the trade union movement?

Mr. BARRETT. I was working in a plant that I attempted to organize, so I guess that would be the first. But I was not an official. In fact, I wasn't even a member of the union, unfortunately.

Mr. MORRIS. What plant was that, and what union was it?

Mr. BARRETT. It was the UE, in a place called Scientific Glass Apparatus, in Bloomfield, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What year was that?

Mr. BARRETT. What year?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. BARRETT. That must have been 1939 or 1940.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you then subsequently become active in the UE?

Mr. BARRETT. I went in the Army very shortly after that.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you went into the Army in 1938 or 1939?

Mr. BARRETT. No. I am sorry. I started to work in Scientific Glass about 1939. The time we tried to organize the union was 1941, I would say.

Mr. MORRIS. And you went into the Army shortly thereafter?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave the Army?

Mr. BARRETT. October 1945.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do after you left the Army?

Mr. BARRETT. Excuse me.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BARRETT. After I came out out of the Army, within a short period of time I went to work in a factory in Newark.

Mr. MORRIS. Then did you become an official of the UE at that time?

Mr. BARRETT. No, sir. I was laid off from that job. After that I went to work for the union.

Mr. MORRIS. What have you done for the UE?

Mr. BARRETT. My official position?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. BARRETT. I have been a field representative—field organizer.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. For what period of time were you a field organizer for the UE?

Mr. BARRETT. From 1946 until 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1956 you moved over into the IUE?

Mr. BARRETT. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, what do you do now?

Mr. BARRETT. I am a field representative for the IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe to Senator Hruska your duties as such?

Mr. BARRETT. Well, the general name for that is organizer. We attempt to organize workers in new shops, negotiate contracts—handle grievances—any related activity such as that.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your present salary?

Mr. BARRETT. I am sorry. I didn't mean to laugh at that. I am just very curious as to why such a question should be asked, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you think that information sought by the subcommittee is a matter of general information, Senator Hruska?

Mr. BARRETT. I mean, there is no secret; it is well known in the union.

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; we will ask you to answer.

Mr. BARRETT. About \$125 a week.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that salary, or take-home?

Mr. BARRETT. No; that is salary.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Barrett, the subcommittee has been told by Mr. William Wallace, who was a member of the Communist Party, and who later in his work as a member of the Communist Party, was a counteragent for the FBI—an FBI informant—

Mr. BARRETT. I didn't get the first part of your statement.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Wallace has told us that you were a member of the Communist Party. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARRETT. I will claim my privilege on that, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. What privilege?

Mr. BARRETT. Under the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. Specifically, what privilege under the fifth amendment? The privilege against self-incrimination?

Mr. BARRETT. Against self-incrimination.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you left the University of Wisconsin in 1938?

Mr. BARRETT. I will give the same answer, sir, of my privileges. I'll assert my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a Communist the day before you went into the United States Army?

Mr. BARRETT. Again I'll assert my privileges.



Mr. MORRIS. Did you remain a member of the Communist Party while you were a member of the United States Army?

Mr. BARRETT. I never said I was a member, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party while you were in the United States Army?

Mr. BARRETT. Again I assert my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have learned that you were a member of the National Council of American Youth for Democracy for the State of New Jersey, and were elected to such at the June 1946 convention of the AYD. Can you tell us whether or not we have been correctly advised of that fact?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to give the same answer, claiming my privilege, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you will not tell the subcommittee whether or not you were a member of the AYD, the American Youth for Democracy, in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. BARRETT. I will claim my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, would you identify the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. MANDEL. The American Youth for Democracy is the successor organization to the Young Communist League, which has been identified as a Communist organization by the Attorney General.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there elected with you to the same post a woman named Evelyn Gordon?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to repeat my previous answer.

Mr. MORRIS. A person named Willie Mae Gordon?

Mr. BARRETT. I will make the same answer again, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. A woman named Mary Adanatzias, A-d-a-n-a-t-z-i-a-s?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to repeat my previous answer, sir, and claim my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that last-named person director of the AYD for Essex County?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to repeat my previous answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a Communist, Mr. Barrett.

Mr. BARRETT. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist a year ago?

Mr. BARRETT. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on February 1, 1954?

Mr. BARRETT. As I said, in executive session, sir, roughly at that time—I'll claim the privilege before that approximate date of January to February of 1954, the time I came to New Jersey. Prior to that, I claim the privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. When did you come back to Jersey, would you put it?

Mr. BARRETT. I believe that was the first week of February 1954.

Senator HRUSKA. In February 1954, by whom were you employed?

Mr. BARRETT. By the UE.

Senator HRUSKA. When was it that you changed from employment by the UE to the IUE?

Mr. BARRETT. About May 15, 1956.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. BARRETT. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you attend meetings held exclusively for Communist any time between February 1, 1954, and the present time?

Mr. BARRETT. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you participated in any Communist activities during that same period of time?

Mr. BARRETT. Not to the best of my knowledge.

Senator HRUSKA. Would you care to tell the subcommittee why you here choose to assert your privilege as to events happening prior to February 1, 1954, and you do not assert that same fifth amendment privilege in the time following that date?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to claim the privilege, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, I must say the chairman is a little puzzled by your attitude here in taking the fifth amendment.

I refer you to a statement made by the president of the AFL-CIO, George Meany, just yesterday, in Chicago, as reported in this morning's press.

When he was asked about the congressional committee investigations here, particularly those having to do with "turning up corruption in labor," he is reported to have taken a firm stand against labor leaders invoking the fifth amendment to protect themselves. He said, among other things:

Things that have been exposed are things that labor should not be proud of. I am interested in eradicating these things.

Then, later on, the press has reported Mr. Meany, during the course of that testimony, as saying: "Meany said he stands by the AFL-CIO policy," which sets forth, and he quotes then from an official document of the AFL-CIO:

If a trade-union official decides to invoke the fifth amendment for his personal protection and to avoid scrutiny by the proper legislative committees, law-enforcement agencies, or other bodies into alleged corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold office in his union.

Are you familiar with that interview, or that report of the interview as contained in this morning's press?

Mr. BARRETT. Not that particular interview. I understand in general what you are talking about.

Senator HRUSKA. You understand that it is the policy of the AFL-CIO to cooperate and to look with disfavor upon those who take the fifth amendment?

Mr. BARRETT. Excuse me.

(Witness consulted with counsel.)

Mr. BARRETT. I just don't know what to say, Senator. I understand what you are saying, and, of course, I am not a policymaker in any union.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, now, as an organizer, and as a trained unionist of many years' standing, you certainly know the basic policies of the AFL-CIO; do you not?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you aware that one of its policies is to look with disfavor upon those who claim the fifth amendment for their own personal protection, and noncooperation with constituted Government bodies? Are you aware that is their policy?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes. But for my own part, I think every case must be handled on an individual basis.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you familiar in general, Mr. Witness, with the constitution and the bylaws of the AFL-CIO?

Mr. BARRETT. More particularly with my own union, sir, but generally with the AFL-CIO.

Senator HRUSKA. I am reading now from article 7, section 7, of the AFL-CIO constitution, which is contained in an officially published booklet of the AFL-CIO which I now hold before you so that you can identify it by appearance. I am reading now from that section on page 5 of this leaflet:

It is a basic principle of this federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences, and from the undermining efforts of Communists. Fascists, or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism.

Does that language strike a familiar note in your mind?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes; that is part of the constitution of the IUE, my own union, sir, and I think I am abiding by it.

Senator HRUSKA. Reading from page 12 of that same leaflet, I read as follows:

We recognize that any person is entitled in the exercise of his individual conscience to the protection afforded by the fifth amendment, and we reaffirm our conviction that this historical right must not be abridged. It is the policy of the AFL-CIO that if a trade-union official decides to invoke the fifth amendment for his personal protection and to avoid scrutiny by law-enforcement agencies into alleged corruption on his part, he has no right to continue to hold office in his union.

Does that language strike a familiar note in your mind? Have you ever read it or has it ever come to your attention before?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes, sir; I am familiar with it.

Senator HRUSKA. Reading from page 25 of that document, that little pamphlet, I read again—this is from the ethical practices code No. 3, having to do with racketeers, crooks, Communists, and Fascists, where the language reads as follows:

The AFL-CIO and each of its affiliated unions should undertake the obligation, through appropriate constitutional or administrative measures and orderly procedures, to insure that no persons who constitute corrupt influences or practices, or who represent or support Communist, Fascist, or totalitarian agencies, should hold office of any kind in such trade unions or organizations.

Are you familiar with that paragraph in the code of ethical practices?

Mr. BARRETT. Yes, sir. That is part of the IUE's constitution, which I am abiding by, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. And you don't feel yourself bound by that code of ethical practices which is referred to in the material which I just read?

Mr. BARRETT. The best I can say is that I am abiding by the constitution of the IUE, which is very explicit about the membership and officers of the union.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything in the constitution which condones membership in or support of Communist organizations?

Mr. BARRETT. Lord, no, not in the IUE, sir. I am sure you recognized the position of the IUE in the labor movements.



Senator HRUSKA. I am not sure that I do, now. Will you tell us what it is with reference to Communist organizations and support of or membership in Communist organizations? Will you tell us what that is? What is their policy in that regard?

Mr. BARRETT. Well, I should have a copy of the constitution of the union with me.

Senator HRUSKA. Describe it in substance as best you can.

Mr. BARRETT. In substance, no Communist or Fascist or totalitarian members or advocates are allowed to hold office in the union—the IUE.

Senator HRUSKA. You don't feel that you are in that category?

Mr. BARRETT. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, we have information here that you have been a member of the Communist Party. We have information here which indicates that you were not only a member of it, but that you were active in it for many, many years. We also know, and we would like to know from you—in all fairness, we would like to know from you whether that is true.

Secondly, we also know that by its very nature, communism and the Communist technique does not depend on formal membership for some of its effectiveness. We know that within their membership and their techniques, they have often caused people to resign from the party, and to disavow loyalty to it, and to disavow any activity in it, and yet they still retain that sympathy and that willingness to work for the party.

We would like to know whether or not there is anything like that, not only in your own personal case and in fellow workers of yourself, but in fellow officials of your union, so that we may arrive at grounds which will allow us to firm up the laws that we have, or to pass new laws to meet that policy.

Now, don't you feel that in view of that that you are not in keeping with the policy of the AFL-CIO as George Meany referred to it yesterday in Chicago?

Mr. BARRETT. Well, speaking for myself, and to the best of my knowledge, the situation that you described is not the case with me, nor, as far as I know, with others in my union.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, may I make an observation?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Barrett, we have been told that you have sat in behind the closed doors of the Communist organization. Now, if that information is accurate, and you have not, with the modifications that have been made, denied that, if you could tell us about what happened at these Communist councils, you would be giving to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, evidence that would be most helpful in our determining to what extent Communists are now infiltrating the mainstream of the AFL-CIO.

The Communist Party convention, Senator Hruska, has made some observations, the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party says:

After the 1952 elections, as demands for unity become more intense, our party more energetically called for united action as a step toward labor unity.

Now, if you could tell us, Mr. Barrett, who the people are who are Communists, as I said, we could go a long way toward determining to what extent Communists are still in the main stream of the unions.



Mr. BARRETT. I believe the only answer I can give to you, Mr. Morris, is that I am not a Communist, and not in a position to enlarge very much upon what you said or read.

Mr. MORRIS. But you will not tell us whether or not you did sit in closed meetings to keep the unity of Communist members?

Mr. BARRETT. Are you referring to any particular time, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. At any time in the past.

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to claim my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, only certain witnesses are competent to tell us who the Communists are, and only those who have taken active part in the Communist organization. It is the only way we can get first-hand direct evidence of who the Communists are.

According to our evidence, the man who is here today is a competent witness to tell us who the people are who have sat in on those meetings of the Communist Party. Apparently, he is not going to do it.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Barrett, are you familiar with the fashion in which the Communist unit meetings are held?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to take the privilege on that, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you familiar with the training which they give to members, to persons who are either members of their organizations, or sympathetic with their party and its objectives?

Mr. BARRETT. Are you speaking of now, sir?

Senator HRUSKA. Have you any knowledge of the training which the Communist Party, as such, gives to persons who are members of their party, or who are in sympathy with it, or with its objectives?

Mr. BARRETT. I will have to repeat my previous answer, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. So as to your present knowledge of those things, as they may have existed, or as they exist, you are claiming your privilege under the fifth amendment; is that correct?

Mr. BARRETT. Sir, as of the present time, I have no knowledge. But previous to the time I specified, before February 1954, I will have to claim the privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, I don't know how your mind works, but after all, you do have knowledge now, do you not? You may have gained that knowledge prior to February 1, 1954, but you have present knowledge now, have you not, of Communist Party activities and the fashion in which they operate?

Mr. BARRETT. I have no present knowledge, sir, of that. And as to the past, previous to that date, I claim the privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. You recited at some length your activities in the trade union movement as far back as 1946, and as far back as 1936, in fact, I think; but you say now you have no knowledge of Communist Party activities, and the fashion in which they operated during those same years. Is that what you want to tell us?

Mr. BARRETT. Oh, no. I think you misunderstood. I said I have no present knowledge of such.

Senator HRUSKA. I didn't misunderstand you for a minute. You do have present knowledge of many things that happened as long as 20 years ago. Do you want to say you have no present knowledge of the fashion in which Communist Party activities are conducted? Do you want to tell us that you have no present knowledge of how Communist Party units or cells or organizations conduct their business?

Mr. BARRETT. I don't know if this is a different answer or not, frankly. I have no present knowledge of what may be now in line with what you said. As to the past, previous to that time, I imagine I would have to claim the privilege, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. I think the record will speak for itself in regard to the cooperation or noncooperation which you are extending to the congressional committee, especially in view of the previous answers which you have given, or refused to give.

Judge Morris, is there anything further you would like to bring up at this time?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to offer for the record, pages 282 beginning with the last paragraph, 283, and half of page 284 of the proceedings of the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party which sets forth counterstrategy of the Communists at that time.

Senator HRUSKA. They will be accepted for the record.

(The excerpt from the proceedings of the 16th Convention, CPUSA, above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 488" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 488

The kind of mistakes we have been discussing are left-sectarian errors. These mistakes were reflected generally and did injury to the fine tradition of our party as the outstanding advocate of trade-union unity.

In this postwar period, our thoughts, interests, and concern began to center around those in the labor movement who agreed with our point of view, rather than on the essential but infinitely more difficult task of resolutely fighting to unite all labor to meet employer attacks. While we were quite correctly concerned with the most dynamic section of labor—the CIO—our concern got to be one-sided. In fact, we ignored a consideration of the problems of the majority of the workers in the AFL. This was particularly true after the unjustified expulsion of the progressive-led unions from the CIO in 1949.

After the 1952 elections, as demands for unity became more intense, our party more energetically called for united labor action as a step in the direction of labor unity. This call, valid as it was, nevertheless did not measure up to what was needed. Hobbled by our estimate of the political situation and our evaluation of the trade-union leadership, our call for united action was in effect suggesting a preunity trial period which workers felt had long since passed. In the absence of a real and sustained fight for trade-union unity, many comrades in the party were unprepared for the rapidity with which organic unity was achieved between the AFL and the CIO. A few even felt that this was in fact a State Department plot, not warranting our support. Hence, as a consequence of our backsliding on this question, the Communists, the traditional and most forceful proponents of such unity, had little to contribute to realize the full potential of organic unity when the merger of AFL and CIO finally came about.

As a result of the postwar attacks, taken together with our own errors, the party today does not have the influence among workers it had in past years. Today, some union leaders feel called upon to vie with each other in expressing their opposition to the party and communism. Innumerable constitutional provisions bar Communists from membership or from holding office in many unions. There is a fear among many workers to knowingly associate with us. In spite of this, there have been some changes taking place in the most recent period. The easing of tensions on a world scale as well as the correction and overcoming of a number of the forementioned errors, is making it possible for Communist workers to participate on a more normal basis in the trade-union activity of their shops and local unions. In some instances, new coalitions, including workers long known as leftwingers, have been formed. This trend toward fuller unity, especially at the local union level, has been growing. While this is true, the abnormal and harmful attitude toward the Communist Party as such on the part of the labor leadership and most workers, still prevails. This is of no help to the labor movement itself.

An examination of the work of our party in the last period shows that we have a considerable distance to go to eliminate the mistakes of the past. These

errors are the responsibility of the party leadership. They penetrated deep into the organization. Therefore, many hangovers of the past still remain. We particularly need a firmer effort to eliminate sectarian oppositionist policies not based on program, and to develop a clearer understanding for ourselves and others on the relationships between the party and the trade unions. We have been very slow to overcome our errors in the field of trade-union policy. This only emphasizes the need for closer relations between the party leadership and the workers in our party. The experience of these comrades emphasizes that the main thing for the party is work at the shop level, that trade-union work is above all shopwork, concern about what is happening in the departments, the grievances, the thinking and discussion there, the problems of developing one's base there. It requires an end to the departmentalization, the separation of industrial problems from the leading committees.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, are you aware of the investigations which are being made into the corrupt practices of some labor unions and some leaders and which have been going on here in the Senate?

Mr. BARRETT. In a general way, sir, yes.

Senator HRUSKA. That has been a practice which has always been denounced, is it not, by the AFL-CIO in all trade-union charters and constitutions, the idea of hoodlumism and racketeering in the union? Do you consider that a part of the policy of trade unionism, as such?

Mr. BARRETT. I agree that that is the position of the AFL-CIO, the position they have taken. I think that is what you asked me.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, I again, bearing on this same general proposition of how important it is that we get as much cooperation as an arm of the Congress, and as an arm of the legislative branch of the United States, I want to draw attention to the fact that yesterday there was a disclosure by Boris Morros in New York of his activities in the Communist Party, and some of the disclosures which he made after some 10 or 12 years of being a counterspy. He is quoted, for example, in the press this morning as saying, among other things, this:

I know from personal information and experience that Soviet espionage has made considerable infiltration in this country. Many of the Soviet's most active workers in this country don't come from the rank and file, nor from the underprivileged. They are people who have the kind of contacts which will be helpful to the Soviets and they are being paid to do their job of treason to the United States.

I might say parenthetically that Boris Morros, pursuant to consultations we have had with the chairman of this subcommittee, Senator Eastland, is being subpoenaed for later hearings before this subcommittee. I cite that as an additional reason why this Congress and this subcommittee is interested in the story which you can make available to the subcommittee if you will only cooperate.

Mr. BARRETT. Of course, I have no sympathy with what he has found out. I don't believe that is directed at me whatsoever, with regard to any sort of espionage.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Barrett, the point is that the subcommittee has learned that the Communist Party is a recruiting ground for espionage and things like that; and the knowledge we feel you have, the evidence you can give us, would be most helpful in pursuing our work to try to determine the full extent of Soviet activity here in the United States.

Mr. BARRETT. I certainly have no knowledge of any espionage or spying or treason, or anything of that sort.



Mr. MORRIS. You have knowledge of Communist Party activity in the United States?

Mr. BARRETT. I claim the privilege again, Mr. Morris.

Senator HRUSKA. It is quite evident to the chairman that there will be no disposition on the part of this witness, in spite of the many declarations that are high sounding and fine. To the contrary, there is no indication, Mr. Morris, that there is going to be any cooperation in a very vital field of inquiry.

Unless you have further questions, the witness will be excused for the time being.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. You are excused, Mr. Witness.

The subcommittee will stand adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have witnesses on Thursday. Mr. James McLeish and several other witnesses for the IUE will appear on Thursday.

Senator HRUSKA. All right.

The subcommittee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:10 a. m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)





# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION  
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL  
SECURITY LAWS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10 a. m., in room 155, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee will come to order.

The first witness will be James McLeish, who has already been sworn.

The record will also show the presence of his counsel, who will give his name and address at this point.

Mr. ROSSMOORE. William Rossmore, 60 Park Place, Newark, N. J.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed, Judge Morris.

## TESTIMONY OF JAMES B. McLEISH, WEST ORANGE, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McLeish, will you give your full name and address to the reporter for the purpose of the public record?

Mr. McLEISH. My name is James B. McLeish, and my address is 725 Eagle Rock Avenue, West Orange, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. McLEISH. I was born in Scotland.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. McLEISH. In 1899.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did you come to the United States, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I came to the United States in 1925.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first become active in the trade-union movement?

Mr. McLEISH. I became active in the trade-union movement in the United States in 1936, when I helped to organize the shop in which I worked at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. For what union?

Mr. McLEISH. It was for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you identified in various capacities with that union through the years?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

I was a shop steward. I was a shop chairman. I was a local union president. I was district secretary. I was district president. I was an international vice president of the Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. MORRIS. That is district 4?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is district 4?

Mr. McLEISH. District 4, at that time when I was district secretary, was the northern New Jersey area.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

When were you district president?

Mr. McLEISH. In September 1937 I was elected district president of a combined district of New York plus New Jersey.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1937?

Mr. McLEISH. In September 1937; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that district called?

Mr. McLEISH. That was called district 4.

Mr. MORRIS. That was district 4?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. So, how many members did that embrace?

Mr. McLEISH. At that given time?

Mr. MORRIS. At that time, and later?

Mr. McLEISH. I would say, in 1937—and this can only be an approximate figure—about 35,000 members.

Mr. MORRIS. What did it develop into?

Mr. McLEISH. It developed into a peak during the war years of 115,000.

Mr. MORRIS. That is while you were still president; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in addition to holding those offices in the UE, you were also holding important positions within the CIO; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. What positions did you have in the CIO?

Mr. McLEISH. On two occasions, I was elected—or I served two terms of approximately 3 years each time as the president of the Greater Newark Industrial Council of the CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members did that embrace?

Mr. McLEISH. I would say—I am trying to recollect. It was approximately a quarter of a million.

Mr. MORRIS. Two hundred and fifty thousand?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes, approximately.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately 250,000?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You were president of the Greater Newark Industrial Union Council of the CIO, you said?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. That roughly was comparable to the organization that was known in New York as the Greater New York Industrial Union Council?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Just a difference in jurisdiction; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes, that is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you meet with the leaders of that Greater New York Industrial Union Council from time to time, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. Occasionally, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What other offices did you have in the CIO?

Mr. McLEISH. I was the vice president of the State council of the CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. That is New Jersey?

Mr. McLEISH. New Jersey State Council, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you naturalized, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I was naturalized in 1933.

Mr. MORRIS. In New York?

Mr. McLEISH. No, in Newark, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have had testimony, Mr. McLeish, that you have been an important member of the Communist Party, and that you have attended from time to time Communist caucuses, pre-convention Communist caucuses of the Communist Party.

We are wondering if that is the case? Is the testimony that we have received accurate?

Mr. McLEISH. During what period of time would this be, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, do you want to make a distinction for the record here now?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes, I would.

Mr. MORRIS. Why don't you tell us what distinction you want to make?

Mr. McLEISH. I would like to state for the record that I am prepared to answer any and all questions up to the time I was elected to the office of international vice president of the UE in September 1937.

And I am prepared to answer any and all questions after May 16, 1956, at which time I had left the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, is it your testimony that you were not a Communist Party member in August of 1937?

Mr. McLEISH. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony that you were not a member of the Communist Party on August 1937?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And were you a member of the Communist Party on May 17, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. May 17, 1956, no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. But May 15, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. What about the testimony that we have received that you attended Communist caucus meetings prior to UE conventions; and, therefore, it must have been prior to May 15, 1956.

Mr. McLEISH. That would be during this period of time?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. I would understand that from the question, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. I must decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Senator HRUSKA. On what grounds, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. On the basis of my privileges under the Constitution; the amendments of the Constitution.



Senator HRUSKA. Which specific amendment?

Mr. McLEISH. In this particular instance, it would be the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. And the provisions in the fifth amendment guaranteeing you the right not to incriminate yourself; is that the one you rely upon?

Mr. McLEISH. If that is the interpretation you put on it.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, there are several privileges granted in the fifth amendment.

I just wondered which one you are relying upon.

Mr. McLEISH. I am relying on the part that says I would not be used as a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know a man named Salvatore M. Vottis?

Mr. McLEISH. At the moment it does not strike any chord with me.

Mr. MORRIS. He has told the Internal Security Subcommittee that he attended preconvention meetings of the Communist Party—caucus meetings of the Communist Party—with you.

Mr. McLEISH. During this period of time?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. I don't recall the guy's name. But I must repeat my answer to this question about having attended such meetings that I invoke my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know William Wallace?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes, I know William Wallace.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend Communist Party meetings with William Wallace?

Mr. McLEISH. That was also during this period of time; is that correct?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. I will invoke my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Wallace told us that you arranged for his trip to Moscow.

Did you arrange for Mr. Wallace's trip to Moscow, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not?

Mr. McLEISH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. When Mr. Wallace told us that you bought him his tickets, was he testifying accurately, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. This may take me a little time, if you will bear with me.

Mr. Wallace was never authorized to go to Moscow, either by me or by the union.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, did you buy him his tickets, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. Mr. Wallace was authorized to visit Paris and London, and the hometown of my birth, to visit my mother while he was on that trip.

He carried with him three letters of identification and introduction; one was to the secretary of the union that held the contract in the Singer plant 40 kilometers outside of Paris. I just don't recall his name. He had a letter of introduction to a Mr. Tanner—Jack Tanner—the president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union in London.

He had a third letter of introduction to my mother, as to who he was. His instructions were specific. And they were to visit the plants that I myself had visited in 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. This is in 1951, isn't it?

Mr. McLEISH. Approximately near the end of 1950 or the early part of 1951. Around that time.

Mr. Wallace's transportation was as far as Paris. I did not purchase his ticket personally. I issued on behalf of the union a check to cover the purchases of a ticket which was turned over to him.

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senator, that is substantially what Mr. Wallace has told us; that he didn't mean Mr. McLeish physically bought the tickets, but that he authorized the money for the purchase of the tickets.

Senator HRUSKA. Did Wallace visit Moscow on that trip?

Mr. McLEISH. I presume he did, Senator, because when he came back, or before he came back, I got a telephone call from his wife that she had had a cablegram that he had had his appendix removed somewhere in the U. S. S. R.

Senator HRUSKA. When he came back, did he report to your union on his trip?

Mr. McLEISH. He reported to the executive board of our union.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you present at that meeting, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes; I was.

Senator HRUSKA. What did he include in his report on that trip?

Mr. McLEISH. He included, as I recall it, the fact that he made the trip to Paris. He was 3 days in Paris. And while he was in Paris, he had a discussion with some people. And he was offered a trip to the Soviet Union. He reported also as clearly as I can recall that the first leg of that trip was from Paris to, I think, Warsaw, if that is in Czechoslovakia.

It was Czechoslovakia, anyway.

Mr. MORRIS. It probably was Prague.

Mr. McLEISH. It was somewhere in there, anyway.

And he eventually went to Moscow. After he had been 3 days in Moscow, he took sick and had his appendix removed. He then was sent to somewhere on the Black Sea to a convalescents' home.

When he came out of there, he made the return trip to Paris, and he eventually got back again to Newark.

Senator HRUSKA. Did he get to visit any industrial plants in Russia?

Mr. McLEISH. If he did, it must have been a very short visit, of a very short duration.

Senator HRUSKA. What did he report?

Mr. McLEISH. What he reported to me was that he was only 3 days in Moscow. And one of those days, he told me, he attended or viewed a parade. So I imagine there was no visiting that day.

If there was any visiting of plants, it must have been confined to 2 days.

Senator HRUSKA. He was longer in Russia than those 3 days, however, was he not?

Mr. McLEISH. Well, he was in the hospital and had his appendix removed. And he was, if I remember correctly, about 12 days in some convalescents' place on the Black Sea, or some place like that. So he couldn't have had much time to visit plants in the short period of time

that he was missing from Newark, which was a total of approximately 6 weeks.

Senator HRUSKA. Was he a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. McLEISH. I have no knowledge as to that.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you think he was a member of the Communist Party?

Have you reasonable grounds upon which to base that conclusion?

Mr. McLEISH. As of today, Senator?

Senator HRUSKA. No. As of that time.

Mr. McLEISH. As of that time, I had no knowledge.

Senator HRUSKA. What about today?

Mr. McLEISH. I have read the newspapers, sir, since that time.

Senator HRUSKA. What did they say about that point?

Mr. McLEISH. I am not too sure what he said about that point. But I have heard him say—or I have seen it reported that he said he was a member of the Communist Party.

But as to my personal knowledge at that time, I had none.

Mr. MORRIS. You had attended Communist Party meetings with him, had you not?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I mean if you had attended Communist meetings with him, you could reasonably suppose he was a Communist, could you not, if you had?

Mr. McLEISH. That is a sort of a hypothetical question, sir, that would require a hypothetical answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, that is what I want.

Mr. McLEISH. The only answer I can give you is that I am afraid I can't answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Why not?

Mr. McLEISH. Because I would have to invoke my privileges.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have here the testimony of Mr. Wallace specifically about this particular trip. And I am sorry it got so complicated.

Mr. Wallace said in answer to the question "Who issued the checks to you or bought your tickets?" "Mr. McLeish."

And, Senator Ferguson, who was then questioning Mr. Wallace said, "He bought your tickets?"

Mr. Wallace said, "No, he issued the checks."

Senator FERGUSON. Issued the checks to you and you went to Air France and you bought your tickets?

Mr. WALLACE. No, told him I had made arrangements with this Mr. Velson, Charles Velson, since he could get it cheaper for me, and to get a ticket for me. He said O. K.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you know Charles Velson?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question.

I may say this, if I may—

Senator HRUSKA. Well, what is the ground for that refusal to answer that question?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer on the basis of my privileges; I invoke my privileges.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. As previously referred to?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Fred Gardner?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

I know a Fred Gardner. I don't know if it is your same Fred Gardner.

I know a Fred Gardner.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever attend a Communist Party meeting with him?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You were sponsor of a mass meeting at the Polo Grounds in New York City in support of the Soviet Union; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

The Daily Worker of July 6, 1943, at page 3, lists you as a sponsor of the mass meeting at the Polo Grounds in New York City in support of the Soviet Union.

Mr. McLEISH. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall?

Mr. McLEISH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you signed an appeal on behalf of Earl Browder in 1942?

Mr. McLEISH. That I couldn't recall, either.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not recall?

Mr. McLEISH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you signed an appeal on behalf of the Daily Worker in January 1944?

Mr. McLEISH. I don't recall that, either.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you sign a statement in support of George Dimitroff, head of the Communist International, as the New York Times of December 22, 1943, page 40, reports, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I doubt it.

But I couldn't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Was your name used very often in these appeals for various projects?

Mr. McLEISH. Well, I am not aware of how often my name might have been used.

It is possible that it could have been used lots of times. As I said before in other testimony, I at one time held three official offices which were a little more than I could handle. And if my name had been used, it could have been in connection with any one of the three offices I held.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you specifically authorize the use of your name on these occasions? Or was it just accepted that your name would be used and you would agree to it, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. That I couldn't tell you, either, Mr. Morris.

I have no such recollection.

Mr. MORRIS. Your name turns up scores of times in connection with these various Communist and Soviet projects.

Is it your testimony that you just do not recall the individual application?

Mr. McLEISH. I have got no recollection at all, Mr. Morris.

My name appeared on lots of things.

Mr. MORRIS. It certainly did.



Mr. McLEISH. And I was a pretty busy fellow during those prewar and wartime years.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you ever refuse to allow the use of your name in those instances?

Mr. McLEISH. I don't recall having refused to allow my name to be used either, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you ever object to its being used when instances came to your attention that it was so used?

Mr. McLEISH. I doubt it.

Senator HRUSKA. You did not object?

Mr. McLEISH. I don't suppose so.

Senator HRUSKA. So that the use on these numerous occasions was with your tacit consent?

Can we draw that conclusion?

Mr. McLEISH. Well, you may. I wouldn't. But you may, if you care to.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, would you differ with that conclusion?

And if you differ with that conclusion, on what grounds do you differ with it?

Mr. McLEISH. Well, without my having an accurate knowledge or remembrance of having done it, I wouldn't question whether you put your interpretation on it or not. That would be solely up to you, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Several instances have been given, and you say you have never objected, and you have never objected when you were asked to do so, nor have you objected after it came to your attention that that name was so used.

Mr. McLEISH. Well, just let me say this, without saying whether I did or not, because I don't recall, you know, whether I did object or didn't object:

It was a little too late to object after it has been done.

Senator HRUSKA. Except as to future instances of similar character.

Were you concerned about that?

Mr. McLEISH. Oh, naturally I was concerned with anything that might affect myself.

Senator HRUSKA. And yet you didn't see fit to object, Mr. McLeish.

Mr. McLEISH. No, I didn't say that.

I said I don't recall that I did. Perhaps I did. Perhaps I didn't. I don't recall any such instances.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have seen his name used scores of times in connection with those particular projects.

Now, William Wallace has told us that you were a veteran Communist, an experienced Communist?

Would you like to disagree with his description of you, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. Well, I could agree that I am a veteran. Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. A veteran Communist, though?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been active in an organization called the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, this is the third witness now who has told us that on May 16, 1956, he stopped being a Communist. Whatever

it was that happened on that date, the three of them stopped being Communists.

I would like to submit, Senator, that if the subcommittee could find out what happened on that day, we might be able to make a determination as to what the relationship of these particular witnesses is.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, I don't believe the record shows that they testified they stopped being Communists on that date.

Mr. McLEISH. Yes. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. They testified that they asserted their privilege as to the period preceding that date.

Is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

I was going to object to the statement by Mr. Morris, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. I stand corrected, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. I still agree with counsel, however.

I think it is very important that we make every effort to find out. And I am going to ask the witness in a little while.

We ought to make every effort to find out what occurred on that date, what magic occurred on that day that they want to draw the iron curtain down and say they will resort to the fifth amendment as to anything that happened, anything they did, prior to that date.

And Mr. McLeish, I should like to ask you what happened on that date that leads you to assert the fifth amendment prior to that time, whereas you do not assert it after that time.

Mr. McLEISH. Just let me say this, Senator:

As of that date, I ceased to be an officer and member of the UE.

Senator HRUSKA. We are not asking about the UE. We are asking about the Communist Party.

Mr. McLEISH. As of that date, I sought and accepted membership in another union.

Senator HRUSKA. Are we to assume from that that the UE and the Communist Party had something in common, and that you had something in common with both of those organizations simultaneously prior to that date?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. What is your present position?

What is your present employment?

Mr. McLEISH. My present position is that I am employed by my local union to advise them, assist them, in arbitrations, grievances, and so forth.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your local union?

Mr. McLEISH. My local union is 467 of the IUE.

Mr. MORRIS. And where is that?

Mr. McLEISH. That is in Orange, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have had other positions with the IUE, have you not?

Mr. McLEISH. I beg your pardon.

Mr. MORRIS. You have had other positions with the IUE since May 16, 1956, have you not?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

In the year 1950, approximately 6 weeks after the date of affiliation, I was employed by the IUE on a mopup operation of other UE shops in the area that I had previously represented.

Senator HRUSKA. And your employment was at the hands of the international?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. You were mopping them up, as you say; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What was mopping up?

Mr. McLEISH. Mopping up was following through, attending meetings, debating the question as to whether there should be disaffiliation or not, membership reports; if they voted in favor of disaffiliation, making application to the IUE for membership; proceeding to negotiate contracts with the employers, until the mopup operation was completed.

My service with the international union extended until May 15 of this year.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. McLeish, in connection with these mopping-up operations of the UE, did you meet in this connection with UE officials whom you had known prior to May 16, 1956, as Communists?

Mr. McLEISH. I didn't meet with them as such. But I did come up against some of them in membership meetings where they were advocating the retention of the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. They were people you had known as Communists?

Mr. McLEISH. No. They were people who I had known as members of the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. No. I asked you had you met any people in connection with this mopping-up operation, that is, persons you had met as Communists in the UE?

Mr. McLEISH. I will have to decline to answer that question, sir, because that is taking me back into the realm of when I was a member of UE.

Mr. MORRIS. It is taking you back in one sense; I am talking about your meetings in this mopping-up operation. During this mopup operation did you meet with people—in other words, in the meetings that took place after May 16, 1956, did you meet with people whom you had known as Communists prior to May 16, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. I think that is a tricky question, and I will have to decline to answer it. I am sorry, but I have to decline to answer it.

Senator HRUSKA. On the basis of your privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Was the UE affiliated with the AFL?

Mr. McLEISH. No. The UE was originally affiliated with the CIO.

Senator HRUSKA. With the CIO?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. When did it cease to be affiliated with the CIO?

Mr. McLEISH. 1949.

Senator HRUSKA. Why was it disaffiliated? On what grounds?

Mr. McLEISH. There is a dispute on that.

The UE claims that they left. The CIO claims they were expelled.

Senator HRUSKA. What were the grounds of expulsion?

Mr. McLEISH. The grounds used by the CIO in their convention resolution was that the UE was Communist dominated. That was the main reason, or one of the reasons.



Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I submit that this witness has, according to our evidence, been in a position where he has learned many Communist secrets which would be very valuable to this subcommittee.

In other words, according to our evidence, he has attended Communist meetings. He has been the head of union organizations with literally hundreds of thousands of members—literally the head of it.

And you feel you cannot answer any of those questions simply for reasons of your own, and have put, as Senator Hruska said, an Iron Curtain over your activities between September 1937 and 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. Did you ask me that question, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you general vice president of the UE in October 1949?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes, sir; I was.

Senator HRUSKA. Is it a fact that you signed a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act on October 3, 1949?

Mr. McLEISH. Approximately that date.

I am not just too sure of the date. But I did sign one in 1949, around that time.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on that date, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question.

Senator HRUSKA. But you did sign a sworn affidavit to the effect that you were not a Communist on that date; is that true?

Mr. McLEISH. I filed an affidavit in proper form. My signature is attached. It was filed with the Department of Labor as of that date.

Senator HRUSKA. We have information to the effect that you were general vice president of the UE, district 4, on September 28, 1950, at which time you filed a non-Communist affidavit.

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. Under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. Is that information true and correct, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. That I filed the affidavit?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. You signed it of your own free will under oath?

Mr. McLEISH. Notarized, yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on that date, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question.

Senator HRUSKA. You answered it once to the notary public when you said you were signing that affidavit that you were non-Communist on that date. And you swore to that. But you didn't want to say now whether or not you were a Communist on that date?

Is that what you want to tell the committee?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. We have information to the effect that you filed a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act on September 8, 1952, at which time you were general vice president of UE district 4.

Is that information correct?



Mr. McLEISH. General vice president of the international union, Senator?

Senator HRUSKA. General vice president of the International Union of UE?

Mr. McLEISH. That is correct.

I filed one in 1952. I filed one in 1953. I filed one in 1954. And I filed one in 1955, the last one I filed, all of which I filed, Senator, with my signature, duly attested before a notary public in the State of New Jersey.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on any of those dates, and at the time that you signed any of those affidavits, Mr. McLeish?

Mr. McLEISH. I must decline to answer that question also, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on the day preceding the signing of any of these affidavits?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question also, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. On the same grounds?

Mr. McLEISH. On the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. We have been told, and there has been evidence before this committee that there have been some instances where signatures on those affidavits is preceded the day before by a resignation from the Communist Party and then a signing of the affidavit and then a rejoining of the party, or doing whatever is necessary to rejoin the Communist Party.

Would you tell us whether or not in any of these instances where you filed a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit that practice was followed?

Mr. McLEISH. I am sorry; I have to decline to answer the question.

Senator HRUSKA. On the same grounds?

Mr. McLEISH. On the same grounds, yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you have anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, Senator.

When did you last see Charles Velson?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen Charles Velson since May 16, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. Since May 15, 1956?

Mr. MORRIS. Since May 16, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. No; I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen Martha Stone since May 16, 1956?

Mr. McLEISH. No, sir; I have not.

Senator HRUSKA. Is Charles Velson a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McLEISH. I wouldn't know, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you personal knowledge of his membership at any time in the Communist Party?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question also, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Has he been affiliated and active with organizations of the Communist Party within your personal knowledge?

Mr. McLEISH. I decline to answer that question also, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been president of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, have you not?

Mr. McLEISH. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been president of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers?

Mr. McLEISH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You say "No"; is that correct?

Mr. McLEISH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. There is a reference to you as president of the Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers.

Mr. McLEISH. Somebody must have been confused.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. All right.

I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. All right.

The witness is excused.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry, Senator, the last question was on my sheet for the next witness. Excuse me.

Senator HRUSKA. We will call the next witness, then, Judge Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. San Giovanni.

Senator HRUSKA. This witness has been previously sworn also.

And this witness is also accompanied by counsel. Will you give your name again for the record, please.

Mr. ROSSMOORE. William Rossmore, 60 Park Place, Newark, N. J.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you.

#### TESTIMONY OF DOMINICK SAN GIOVANNI, STIRLING, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. San Giovanni.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Dominick San Giovanni, 28 Essex Street, Stirling, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I am a field representative for the IUE, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, out of what office are you working, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Out of the Newark office.

Mr. MORRIS. That is district 4?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And you do not work for district 4, but you work out of district 4; is that correct, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I work for the international union, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I had, in earlier reference to this witness, mentioned that he was associated with district 4. And the leaders of district 4 expressed disagreement with my description of the witness.

So that it why I would like with great particularity to have this witness say exactly what his relationship is to district 4.

We were under the impression that your office is in district 4.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You physically have an office there; is that correct?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. District office; yes. But they have a national.

We can be assigned to any place at any time. At this present time, I happen to be working out of district 4 office. But I work under the direction of the international union.

Mr. MORRIS. But in district 4?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Well, wherever they may want to send me.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are paid by the international; is that right?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first join the trade union?

Well, first, let me ask you this question: Where were you born, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Where?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Stirling, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you first become active in the trade-union movement?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. In the early 1940's, I believe, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. What unions have you been associated with, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. District 50 of the United Mine Workers. Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers, CIO. And the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been president of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers, have you not?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I was president of a local union, the shop that I worked in, when we organized it.

I was elected president of that particular local union.

Mr. MORRIS. What local was that?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Well, we had 2 different local numbers, because at the time we were in CIO, within district 50 of the United Mine Workers. And when Lewis decided to leave the CIO, our local and the majority of the locals in the district of the United Mine Workers decided to leave Lewis and petition the national CIO for a chemical workers charter which was granted at a later date.

There were two different local numbers.

One, I remember, was local 20. I think that was the new local number assigned to us after we left district 50 of the United Mine Workers and received a charter from the International Union of Chemical Workers.

Senator HRUSKA. What year was that?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I couldn't tell you.

Senator HRUSKA. Approximately what year was that, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Maybe 1943, 1944.

Senator HRUSKA. And when was it that you were president of this gas, coke, and chemical local?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. When was it?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Around that period of time.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, I have here a statement protesting what the Daily Worker called the reactionary intervention of the United States in the Italian elections on April 13, 1948, in which is listed as a signer Dominick San Giovanni, president of the Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers, CIO, district 4.

Senator HRUSKA. What was that date?

Mr. MORRIS. That was April 13, 1948, Senator, if that would help.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Do you want me to explain the time, Mr. Morris?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Well, you asked me a question——

Mr. MORRIS. About the time, about whether or not you signed the statement.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I was fired by district 50.

Mr. MORRIS. That is John L. Lewis?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Yes.



For being one of the members who petitioned Philip Murray of the national CIO for a charter.

I had a leave of absence from the plant, and I was still president of the local union up until that time, on leave.

I went back into the plant to work, even prior to 1948 on two different occasions. And the local kept me in office as president at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, as a matter of fact, sign this protest against the "reactionary intervention of the United States in the Italian elections in 1948"?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I may have signed it. I am not sure.

It was quite a long time ago. I do not remember that in detail, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. San Giovanni, Mr. William Wallace has told us you have been an active Communist in New Jersey.

Is what he told us accurate?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Senator HRUSKA. On what ground?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. On the basis of the fifth amendment, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Self-incrimination?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I decline to answer the question also, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. As you are here this morning, are you a member of the Communist Party, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 15, 1956?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I decline to answer that question, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 17, 1956?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. No.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you resign from the Communist Party between May 15, 1956, and May 17, 1956?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I decline to answer that question.

Senator HRUSKA. The preceding witness, Mr. San Giovanni, said that he was willing to answer any questions about his membership in the Communist Party prior to September 1937 and May 1956.

Let me start that over again.

The preceding witness said that he would be willing to answer any questions about his Communist Party membership except between September of 1937 and May of 1956.

Now, is there any period that you would like to exclude in a similar fashion or are you simply saying after May 16, 1956?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Well, I am willing to answer any questions on this question from May 16 to the present time, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist in September of 1937?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I decline to answer that question also.

Senator HRUSKA. How old are you?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Forty-two.

I would like to answer this in the record, if I may, Senator: During the period of the Second World War, I served as a representative for the CIO for the Somerset County area, and labor representative for the War Manpower Commission for a period of 3½ years. And I





As a matter of fact, our constitution specifically states that anyone who is a member of the Communist Party, a sympathizer, or a member of the Fascist Party, is not permitted to hold any office, I believe.

Senator HRUSKA. As a matter of fact, that goes to membership as well, does it not?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I assume so; yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know of any member or any applicant for membership in the IUE who was turned down on account of his affiliation with the Communist Party, Mr. San Giovanni?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I am not in a position to answer that question, because that does not come within the scope of my job.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, your personal knowledge, then. It comes within the scope of your personal knowledge, does it not?

Do you know of any instance or have you heard of any instance where an applicant for membership in the IUE was turned down because he was a Communist or Communist sympathizer?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I don't know of any.

Senator HRUSKA. You don't know of any?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Well, let me say this, in all due fairness to the union.

That does not necessarily mean because I am not aware of it at the present time, that it may not have taken place.

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; I understand that.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. One could assume by my answer that that didn't happen. I don't know.

Senator HRUSKA. We have had testimony that has been given in sworn form before this committee in which it was stated that members and some of the officers of UE were Communists.

Do you know of any such instances?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. In the IUE?

Senator HRUSKA. No; in the UE.

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. I will have to resort to my privileges under the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you have any further questions, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

I think it points up the problem that we should try to find out what happened on May 16 within the councils of the Communist Party which caused at least three people, described to us as veteran Communists, to refuse to answer questions on one day but then answering questions relative to the subsequent day.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you ever hold any office that would require the filing of a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act provisions?

Mr. SAN GIOVANNI. Not to my knowledge; no.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you have anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to offer for the record something that is not related to this particular hearing. But I would like it in, because we want to print it.

This is to be printed as an appropriate part of the record of our hearings.

We have received from Harry Gold a supplemental statement. Harry Gold is in prison in Lewisburg. We have received a statement on his experiences within the Soviet espionage network.

I would like that to go into the record, Senator, if it may.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. It will be received and placed in the record.

Mr. MORRIS. Together with the indictment of Rudolph Ivanovich Abel, to be printed in the record.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be placed in the record at this point.

(The statement of Harry Gold appears at p. 3814 of pt. 58; the indictment of Rudolph Abel is printed in pt. 71 of this same series on Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States.)

Senator HRUSKA. If there is nothing further of this witness, he may be excused.

I would like to announce that on the 22d we will hear testimony of Boris Morros before this subcommittee.

It is my understanding that unless your plans have changed that you are proceeding up to New York on Monday in order to make preparations for that testimony and that hearing?

Mr. MORRIS. That is correct, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. The meeting is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 10:55 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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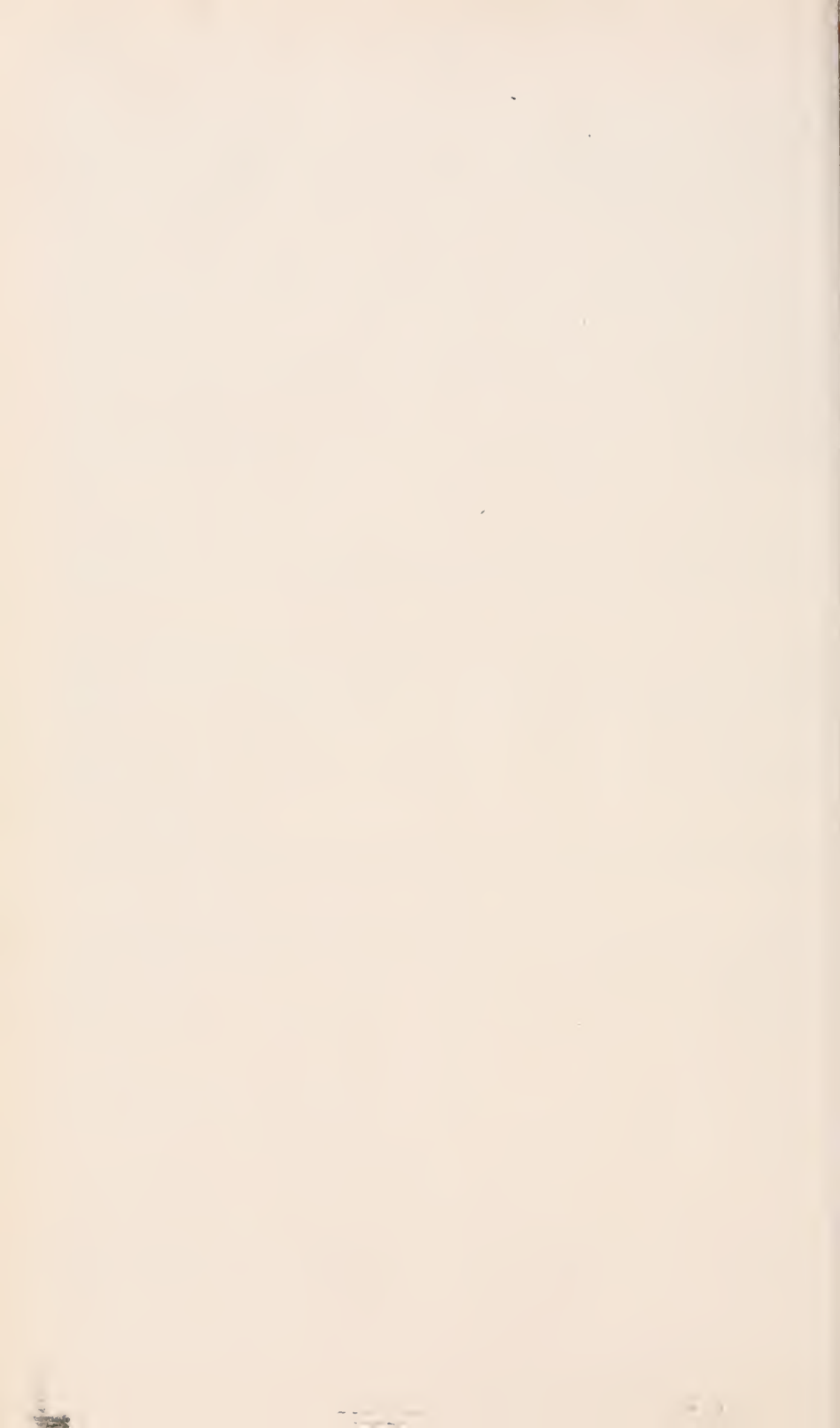
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OSITORY

# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

(Extent of Communist Activity in Labor)

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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AUGUST 19, 1957

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PART 81

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Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 19, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:20 p. m., in room 155, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel, and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The subcommittee will come to order.

We will call Milton Felsen.

Where is your counsel, Mr. Felsen?

Mr. FELSEN. He is on his way.

Mr. MORRIS. While we are waiting for him, we will call Mr. Charles Fay.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you be sworn, Mr. Fay?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FAY. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fay, will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. FAY. Charles Fay, 611 West Road, Broad Channel, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like the record to show that this hearing is being held in connection with the subcommittee's inquiry into the determination of whether or not Communists are infiltrating the mainstream of American labor, the AFL-CIO. One of the things we are trying to determine is whether or not the Communist Control Act of 1954 should be amended in order to provide for the situation, whatever the subcommittee finds it to be.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

## TESTIMONY OF CHARLES FAY, NEW YORK CITY, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS ATTORNEY, OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

Mr. MORRIS. Where did you say you reside?

Mr. FAY. 611 West Road, Broad Channel, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is that?

Mr. FAY. Toward the Rockaways.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your present business or occupation?

Mr. FAY. I am a union official, president of local 485, IUE, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been president of local 485?

Mr. FAY. Since May 17 of 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are in that local?

Mr. FAY. Approximately 4,250.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are you now a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Fay?

Mr. FAY. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956? I use that because that is the cutoff date the witnesses have been giving us, beyond which they refuse to say whether or not they have been members of the Communist Party. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. That portion of the fifth amendment by which you—

Mr. FAY. Self-incrimination.

Mr. MORRIS. The pressure of time here has been quite great. I know that you have very limited time, Senator. I have rather extensive examinations prepared, but I would like to say essentially I would like to have this in the record, that the witness will not deny the testimony of Mr. William Wallace that he has been a member of the Communist Party. Mr. Wallace left the Communist Party in 1955. He said that during that period, Mr. Fay was a member of the Communist Party. Were you, Mr. Fay?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Marcel Scherer, S-c-h-e-r-e-r?

Mr. FAY. Excuse me.

(Witness consults with counsel.)

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. You won't tell us whether you know Marcel Scherer?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. In view of that, Senator, I think the evidence in the record, and the failure of Mr. Fay to answer is in the record, and only because of the time schedule, I would like to let the record stand.

Senator HRUSKA. I would like to ask Mr. Fay: Of your own personal knowledge, are any officers or members of local 485 members of the Communist Party, or affiliated with it?

Mr. FAY. Not to my own personal knowledge.

Senator HRUSKA. To your own personal knowledge, are there any officers or members of local 485 who have been members of the Communist Party, or affiliated with it?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. I want to say, Mr. Witness, I am not asking for names. I am not asking you to embarrass anyone or to subject them to any questioning or questions or criticisms. I am simply asking whether or not you know if there are any members, whether there are any members of local 485 or officers of 485, who have at any time been members of the Communist Party, or affiliated with it.

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1937?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. Where were you born, Mr. Fay?

Mr. FAY. In Roxbury, Mass.

Senator HRUSKA. How many affidavits have you filed, non-Communist affidavits, for officials of unions, pursuant to the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. FAY. Since 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. The Senator asked how many have you filed?

Senator HRUSKA. Each year since 1949?

Mr. FAY. Yes; each year since 1949.

Senator HRUSKA. And on those occasions, in that affidavit you swore to the notary public or the officer taking your oath, or taking your attestation, that you were not a member of the Communist Party; is that correct?

Mr. FAY. That is true.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you, on any of those days when you signed those affidavits, a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. I have no further questions.

Have you any, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. Just one thing. I mentioned Marcel Scherer. To your knowledge was Marcel Scherer district representative of district 4 of the UERMW, CIO? I put that name in the record. I would like some identification.

Mr. FAY. I am not sure at this point what his capacity was.

Mr. MORRIS. Our information, Senator, is he was district representative, district 4, of UERMW. That is not the IUE. Were you associated with him in a project called the New York Labor Conference for Peace?

Mr. FAY. I assert my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. I have more questions, Senator, but—

Senator HRUSKA. I understand.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fraenkel, will you identify yourself for the record?

Mr. FRAENKEL. Osmond K. Fraenkel, 120 Broadway, New York City.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will show that counsel just named was present during the taking of testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Since counsel is here, will his other witness, Miss Jaffe, come forward, please?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss JAFFE. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF ELEANOR JAFFE, BROOKLYN, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HER ATTORNEY, OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Miss JAFFE. Eleanor Jaffe, 276 Henry Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation?

Miss JAFFE. I am an office worker for local 485.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you secretary to Mr. Fay or Mr. Cameron?



Miss JAFFE. Not for one more than the other.

Mr. MORRIS. You work for both?

Miss JAFFE. Both, and for the whole staff.

Mr. MORRIS. You will recall, Senator, that Clifton Cameron, who testified here last week, said he was business agent for local 485.

You say you work for both Mr. Fay and Mr. Cameron?

Miss JAFFE. Yes; and for other staff members.

Mr. FRAENKEL. Mr. Morris, I don't believe the last answer was clear.

Miss JAFFE. I said I worked for both, and for other staff members.

Mr. FRAENKEL. I also represent this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. I understand.

Mr. MORRIS. Just so we will understand, Miss Jaffe, have you been the wife of Walter Barry?

Miss JAFFE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not his wife now?

Miss JAFFE. No; I am not.

Mr. MORRIS. Is Jaffe the name of your present husband?

Miss JAFFE. No; I am not married.

Mr. MORRIS. Oh, Jaffe is your maiden name?

Miss JAFFE. No; Jaffe is the name of a previous husband.

Mr. MORRIS. You will recall, Senator, that Walter Barry has been identified frequently in testimony before the subcommittee as one of the Communist leaders who, among other things, led the Singer Sewing Machine strike, and participated in other Communist activities.

Miss Jaffe, you say you are not his wife now?

Miss JAFFE. No; I am not.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been with local 485?

Miss JAFFE. Since May 17, 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do before that?

Miss JAFFE. I was an office worker for local 475.

Mr. MORRIS. Which is the UE local, which became local 485 of the IUE.

Miss JAFFE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956, the day before you moved into the IUE?

Miss JAFFE. I use my constitutional privilege on that question, Judge Morris.

I am willing to answer any questions about May 17, 1956, since I became a member of the IUE, but prior to that, I wish to use my privileges under the Constitution.

Senator HRUSKA. Would you identify that privilege?

Miss JAFFE. The privilege against self-incrimination under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mary Markward, who has been identified as a former Communist Party member, has told us you were a member of the Communist Party. Would you like to deny that?

Miss JAFFE. I will use my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know who Mary Markward is?

Miss JAFFE. I use my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not deny that?

Miss JAFFE. I use my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 18, 1956, the day after you moved from the UE to the IUE?

Miss JAFFE. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party on May 18, 1956?

Miss JAFFE. As I said before, I use my constitutional privileges. Just a minute.

(Witness consults with counsel.)

Miss JAFFE. Oh, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Emphatically no?

Miss JAFFE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. On May 16, you use your privilege?

Miss JAFFE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. But as to May 18, you say emphatically, "No," that you were not a member of the Communist Party?

Miss JAFFE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what took place in the Communist Party on May 17, which caused you to give a different answer with respect to May 16, from what you gave when you were asked the question regarding May 18, 1956?

Miss JAFFE. I use my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. The pattern is becoming more clear here all the time, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you in sympathy with the objectives of the Communist Party, Miss Jaffe?

Miss JAFFE. No; I am not.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you in sympathy with the objectives of the Communist Party at any time?

Miss JAFFE. I use my privilege on that question.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you in sympathy with the objectives of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956?

Miss JAFFE. I use my privilege on that question.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you in sympathy with the objectives of the Communist Party on May 18, 1956?

Miss JAFFE. No.

Senator HRUSKA. Would you tell us why that change of mind overnight, Miss Jaffe?

Mr. FRAENKEL. Just a minute, Senator. I know counsel is not supposed to speak, but there has been no testimony of change of mind, sir. There is a refusal to answer as to certain questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Can you tell us why there is a different answer which is prompted by the passage of hours of 1 night?

Miss JAFFE. I assert my privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. Is there anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Then we will hear from the next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Felsen?

Senator HRUSKA. Will counsel identify himself for the record, please?

Mr. ROSSMOORE. William Rossmore, 60 Park Place, Newark.

Mr. MORRIS. You will have two clients today, Mr. Felsen and Mr. Barile?

Mr. ROSSMOORE. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Felsen, do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FELSEN. I do.

Senator HRUSKA. The photographers will take their pictures at the instance and suggestion of counsel, and, when that has been done, we shall proceed with the questioning of the witness.

**TESTIMONY OF MILTON FELSEN, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM ROSSMOORE, HIS COUNSEL**

Mr. MORRIS. Give your full name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. FELSEN. Milton Felsen, 18 Manitou Trail, White Plains, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession, Mr. Felsen?

Mr. FELSEN. I am an international representative of the IUE, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you work as international representative?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, wherever the union sees fit to assign me, which, of course, covers the jurisdiction of the union. At the moment it is in the New York area.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you worked out of district 4?

Mr. FELSEN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Felsen, we have been told that you have been a member of the Communist Party. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, I would like to testify in relation to those matters as of February 2, 1956. Before that time, I would like to claim privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. And that will be the privilege against self-incrimination, as provided in the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States; is that right?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. FELSEN. In Brooklyn.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. FELSEN. 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. And when did you first enter the trade-union movement?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, in what capacity?

Mr. MORRIS. You understand that that is a broad term. I used it broadly.

When did you first become interested in organized labor?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, I first went to work for the unions after the war.

Mr. MORRIS. After 1945?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. But you were a member of the union before that, and active in its affairs as a member?

Mr. FELSEN. I suppose not really active—just as a member.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your business before 1945?

Mr. FELSEN. Again, what do you mean?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, what was your profession prior to 1945? You are now a trade-union man. What did you do prior to that war?



Mr. FELSEN. I did a number of kinds of work. I drove a truck; I worked in shops; I really had not established any particular occupation.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the trade union you first became active in?

Mr. FELSEN. I first went to work for the CIO relief fund in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that in 1945 or 1946?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do with the CIO relief fund?

Mr. FELSEN. I was employed in a publicity capacity.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you do that?

Mr. FELSEN. Until 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do in 1947?

Mr. FELSEN. I was employed by the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. You worked for the UE up until the time you worked for the IUE?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, that goes back to the Spanish civil war. I think that covers the area I would like to claim my privilege on.

Mr. MORRIS. You wouldn't like to tell us whether, in fact, as we have been told, you were a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. FELSEN. I would rather claim privilege on those matters.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you get to Spain in connection with that?

Mr. FELSEN. My privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you use an American passport?

Mr. FELSEN. My privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you still have the American passport you took to Spain, or was your passport one of the passports that were taken by the Communists in Spain?

Mr. FELSEN. Excuse me.

(Witness consults with counsel.)

Mr. FELSEN. I don't have any passport now.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened to the passport you took to Spain?

Mr. FELSEN. Excuse me.

(Witness consults with counsel.)

Mr. FELSEN. It strikes me as part of the other question. I would like to take the privilege on it.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you give your American passport to the Communists?

Mr. FELSEN. I claim the privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any military training under Soviet officers while you were in Spain?

Mr. FELSEN. Privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. But did you serve the United States Army in World War II?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In what capacity?

Mr. FELSEN. As a member of the Armed Forces. Do you want my rank?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. FELSEN. Well, when I came out, I was first sergeant.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do any special training? Any special work in view of your experience in Spain?



Well, I'll take the second part of the question, because answering that might—Did you do any special work, Mr. Felsen, in World War II?

Mr. FELSEN. I like to think I did very good work.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell us generally what it was.

Mr. FELSEN. Well—

Mr. MORRIS. You weren't with the OSS, for instance, were you?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Oh, you were.

Were you taken into the OSS on the basis of your training in Spain?

Mr. FELSEN. In relation to the recruiting and operations and activities of the OSS as such, of which I am very proud, I think you may be familiar that there is an understanding and oath when we left that sort of inhibits—

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you don't want to tell us about what you did for the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. Well, I would like to tell you that I went overseas: that I was captured after having been wounded. Maybe one of the first casualties of the OSS. A person captured with me was Col. Jerry Sage, from whom I have a very nice letter; it happens it is in my pocket. I don't want to go into it, unless you would be interested, and I think I had a fine commendation at the end of the war, and during 1945.

I spent a couple of years in German prison camps, came back to the OSS, and was discharged only because the war ended.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist while you were in the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You were not?

Mr. FELSEN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist the day before you joined the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. I will claim the privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist the day after you left the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. I would like to claim the privilege, because it covers that area of time you were talking about.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, while you were a member of the OSS, you can say you were not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. FELSEN. I think—

Mr. MORRIS. That is what he said, didn't he, Mr. Counsel?

Consult your counsel, Mr. Felsen.

Mr. FELSEN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect a tactical resignation from the Communist Party because of your relationship with OSS, because of a Government regulation that no member of the Communist Party shall be affiliated with the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. I never said I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect a tactical resignation from the Communist Party because of your relationship with the OSS?

Mr. FELSEN. I claim my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist when you did CIO publicity work in the postwar period?

Mr. FELSEN. Are you talking about—oh, I claim my privilege.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you placed in the OSS immediately upon your induction into the service?

Mr. FELSEN. Prior to it.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, now, were you in the OSS before you were in the Army?

Mr. FELSEN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to submit, Senator, that all throughout our hearings, during the last 3 or 4 years, the situation has frequently come up in the record with people who were formerly Communists that for the period while they were in the armed services they deny Communist membership. Ex-Communists have told us that when they do go into the armed services they do detach themselves from formal membership so they can take the oath of office.

Mr. ROSSMOORE. I would like to say something. I don't know what testimony Mr. Morris is referring to, but I think it is unfair to this witness, who was wounded and served honorably in the Army, to cast aspersions on his service. If there is any aspersion intended, I think it is unfair.

Senator HRUSKA. I don't think there is any intended. It is in the background. We don't create the situation where he wants to use the fifth amendment. That is his privilege, and he is asserting it.

Mr. FELSEN. I think I can assert it without any assumptions as to my innocence.

Senator HRUSKA. That is right, as far as proof is concerned, but it does not bar anyone from indulging in any presumption he wants.

Mr. FELSEN. Inferences and innuendo sometimes get involved in something else.

Senator HRUSKA. That is true, but they are not of our making.

Is there anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you filed non-Communist affidavits, as required by the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. FELSEN. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you required to by the law?

Mr. FELSEN. No.

Senator HRUSKA. And that is by reason of the fact that you are not an officer of the union; is that the basis of it?

Mr. FELSEN. I suppose so; yes.

Senator HRUSKA. At any rate, whether you are required to or not, you have never filed any affidavit?

Mr. FELSEN. I would rather put it that I was never required to.

Mr. MORRIS. An international representative does not have to?

Mr. FELSEN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Who is your other witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Barile.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARILE. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF PASQUALE BARILE, WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY WILLIAM ROSSMOORE, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. What is your full name and address?

Mr. BARILE. Pasquale Barile.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. BARILE. 52 South Kensco Avenue, White Plains, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. BARILE. Union organizer.

Mr. MORRIS. For what union?

Mr. BARILE. The IUE, CIO-AFL.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you organize?

Mr. BARILE. I am currently assigned to eastern Massachusetts; that area.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not connected with district 4?

Mr. BARILE. I am working now in Massachusetts. The union makes the assignments; I go where they assign me.

Mr. MORRIS. You had been working in district 4?

Mr. BARILE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When?

Mr. BARILE. May 16, 1956, up until the early part of this year.

Mr. MORRIS. Where are you now in Massachusetts?

Mr. BARILE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where in Massachusetts?

Mr. BARILE. Along Route 128. That is the area where a lot of new shops are going up, and we want to organize the shops.

Mr. MORRIS. But you are working out of the international headquarters?

Mr. BARILE. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you work out of the international headquarters for these assignments?

Mr. BARILE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are assigned now to eastern Massachusetts?

Mr. BARILE. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. BARILE. Jersey City, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What year?

Mr. BARILE. 1920.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you become associated with the trade-union movement?

Mr. BARILE. When I worked in a shop in 1943, I joined the union which was in the shop.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell us, Mr. Barile, as we have been told by Fred Garduer, that you have been a member of the Communist Party. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARILE. Sir; on this question, I am a member of the IUE, AFL-CIO. I have been since May 1956. I am not a Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on May 16, 1956?

Mr. BARILE. I invoke my privilege under the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on May 18, 1956?

Mr. BARILE. I was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Fred Gardner?

Mr. BARILE. I invoke my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. What did you do prior to May 16, 1956?

Mr. BARILE. You mean an occupation?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes,



Mr. BARILE. I was a union organizer.

Senator HRUSKA. For whom?

Mr. BARILE. For the UE.

Senator HRUSKA. How long had you been organizer for the UE?

Mr. BARILE. Approximately 4 years.

Senator HRUSKA. Was the UE affiliated with the AFL at that time?

Mr. BARILE. No; they were an independent union.

Senator HRUSKA. Were they at any time affiliated with the AFL?

Mr. BARILE. No; not to my knowledge. I don't think they were ever in that district. If you are referring to the fact that they were not affiliated with the CIO, they were, in fact, affiliated at one time with the CIO, but not with the AFL.

Senator HRUSKA. When were they affiliated with the CIO?

Mr. BARILE. They were affiliated with the CIO from their inception until around 1949.

Senator HRUSKA. Then they were expelled; were they?

Mr. BARILE. Well, they left the CIO. The two groups parted company around 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. You won't tell us what took place in the councils of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956?

Mr. BARILE. Will you repeat that?

Mr. MORRIS. You won't tell us what took place in the councils of the Communist Party on May 16, 1956?

Mr. BARILE. I invoke my privilege.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. Call your next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. The next witness is James Garry.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GARRY. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAMES GARRY, NEW YORK, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY EPHRAIM LONDON, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. Give your full name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. GARRY. James Garry, 4210 216th Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what is your present business or profession, Mr. Garry?

Mr. GARRY. I am the business manager of the local union.

Mr. MORRIS. Business manager of local—

Mr. GARRY. 477 of the IUE, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that formerly?

Mr. GARRY. The former affiliation was UE, and the local number was 1227.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, the president of the union is Victor Teich; is he not?

Mr. GARRY. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. What position does Sidney Gilbert have?

Mr. GARRY. Business agent.

Mr. MORRIS. You are the business manager?

Mr. GARRY. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Hans Schuttig?



Mr. GARRY. He is the financial secretary-treasurer of the local union.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Wallace has told us in sworn testimony that the four officers of local 477, whom I have just mentioned—the present witness, who is business manager; Victor Teich, the president; Sidney Gilbert, the business agent; and Hans Schuttig, the financial secretary-treasurer—were all members of the Communist Party.

Now, we have had subpoenas out, Senator, since July 26 of this year. Despite all our efforts, the only witness we have been able to serve is Mr. Garry.

Senator HRUSKA. You mean among those you have named?

Mr. MORRIS. The four we have identified: (a) we wanted to give them an opportunity to deny the testimony of Mr. Wallace if it was not accurate, and (b) we wanted them to answer some questions for us.

We have a report from the marshal that he has been unable to serve them, and he has efficiently tried to effect service, Senator. Mr. Garry was served a few weeks ago, and we gave him an adjournment.

Mr. GARRY. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen Mr. Teich recently?

Mr. GARRY. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is he now?

Mr. GARRY. He has been constantly in the factory that employs him. I have noticed even that the newspapers have identified the factory in which he is employed. I don't know where the origin of the press release was, but he is working in the plant.

Mr. MORRIS. What is this plant? We don't even know what plant he works in.

Mr. GARRY. It is a plant called Waldes Kohinoor. He has been constantly there. The only time he has not been there has been when he was on vacation, a vacation that was scheduled many, many weeks before any subpoena was issued.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know these things of your own personal knowledge?

Mr. GARRY. I know the plant closes down for 2 weeks annually, and I know it did this year.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you know of your own personal knowledge that he has been at the plant at work all this time, except for the vacation period?

Mr. GARRY. I can, I think, safely say that; yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you see him there?

Mr. GARRY. I did see him in the plant.

Senator HRUSKA. On how many occasions?

Mr. GARRY. I have been in the plant twice in the last couple of weeks.

Senator HRUSKA. On those two occasions you saw him on duty there, working in the regular fashion?

Mr. GARRY. No; I didn't see him on duty. In fact, I saw him in the cafeteria of the plant.

Mr. MORRIS. I don't know, Senator, if we should put into the record the efforts of the marshal to serve the other three witnesses, or work out some later date with them. What is your wish?

I know it is getting near the end of the session.

Senator HRUSKA. The evidence will be available for incorporation in the record in connection with their testimony. Let's hold it in abeyance for the moment.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Garry, William Wallace has told us that you have been a member of the Communist Party. Have you in fact been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GARRY. I want to answer that question in this way: I am a member—in fact, I am business manager—of the local union of IUE, AFL-CIO, and the international constitution of our union makes membership in the Communist Party impermissible in holding office, or in any other way representing or being employed by the union. I am not a Communist. I have, however, learned that William Wallace and possibly others have made statements to the effect that I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Just a minute, now. Mr. Wallace said he knew you were a Communist when he was a Communist with you. He couldn't testify about your present activity. He said while he was a Communist, you were a Communist with him.

Mr. GARRY. I understand that such charges were made here before this committee. I would like to say this with respect to that, I want to shield myself from any possible frameup, and state to you that in response to your question, I do not think that you have a right to ask it.

I furthermore stand on my rights under the first amendment of the Constitution, and also under the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator HRUSKA. The refusal to answer insofar as it is based on the first amendment is overruled. We do, however, recognize as a subcommittee, and the chairman recognizes, that insofar as the fifth amendment is concerned, and the self-incrimination features thereof, that is a good ground for refusing to answer.

Mr. MORRIS. We have also been told that you have frequently gone in and out of Communist Party headquarters, Mr. Garry.

Have you gone in and out of the national headquarters of the Communist Party with any frequency in the past?

Mr. GARRY. I let the previous answer that I have given you stand.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are there in local 477?

Mr. GARRY. About 1,000.

Mr. MORRIS. What generally do you organize?

Mr. GARRY. Well, we organize almost any plant that we can get members in that comes within the jurisdiction of the international union.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been active in the Citizens Committee To Defend Representative Government, the object of which organization, we were told, was to place the Communist, Simon W. Gerson, in the New York City Council in New York?

Mr. GARRY. I refer back to my previous answer.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you active in the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. GARRY. Same answer.

Mr. MORRIS. In 1940, did you preside at the youth session of the May Day Conference of the Communist Party?

Mr. GARRY. Same answer.

Senator HRUSKA. The record will show the same ruling on all these answers.

Mr. MORRIS. Again I have a few questions I could ask, but in the interest of time, and for the reasons I gave you, I shall refrain, because the pattern has been set.

Senator HRUSKA. When did you become associated with local 477, Mr. Garry?

Mr. GARRY. I believe the exact date would be May 17, 1956.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on that day, or affiliated with the party?

Mr. GARRY. I was not.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party, or affiliated with it on May 16, 1956?

Mr. GARRY. I was not.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it on May 15, 1956?

Mr. GARRY. I was not.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you been a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it at any time?

Mr. GARRY. I will let my previous answer stand.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it on January 1956?

Mr. GARRY. I was not.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it in 1945?

Mr. GARRY. I will rely on my previous answer.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it in 1948?

Mr. GARRY. My previous answer stands.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it in 1949?

Mr. GARRY. My previous answer will stand.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1950?

Mr. GARRY. My previous answer will stand.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1951?

Mr. GARRY. My previous answer will stand.

If I might help you, Senator—

Senator HRUSKA. I am trying to get a cutoff date.

Mr. LONDON. If I may interject, Senator, we informed Judge Morris before this hearing that the witness would testify as to any period after January 1, 1956, but would decline to answer on anything before that.

Senator HRUSKA. I was not aware of that, Mr. London.

Mr. MORRIS. When Senator Hruska asked him if he was a member of the Communist Party on January 1, 1956, he said no.

Mr. LONDON. That is quite right.

Senator HRUSKA. January 1 was the dividing line?

Mr. MORRIS. Oh, I am sorry, Senator.

Were you a member of the Communist Party on December 31, 1955?

Mr. GARRY. I decline to answer that for reasons previously given.

Mr. MORRIS. But on the morning of January 1, 1956, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GARRY. My answer has already been given.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that?



Mr. GARRY. I think Senator Hruska asked me——

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, he did. But can you just answer the question?

Mr. GARRY. I am about to. I think Senator Hruska asked me that question, and I answered it. I think the record will show it. I will make sure the answer is clear by saying that I was not a Communist on that date.

Senator HRUSKA. Or a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it?

Mr. GARRY. Nor a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it.

Senator HRUSKA. Where were you born, Mr. Garry?

Mr. GARRY. Scotland.

Senator HRUSKA. When were you born?

Mr. GARRY. 1914, August 31.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with Mr. McLeish?

Mr. GARRY. Yes, I know Mr. McLeish.

Mr. MORRIS. What year were you naturalized, Mr. Garry?

Mr. GARRY. In 1943, I believe.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on that date?

Mr. GARRY. I have already answered that question.

Senator HRUSKA. On the day you were naturalized?

Mr. GARRY. I have answered that question, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. I beg your pardon; you did not answer.

Mr. GARRY. I think I will say to you that I rely on my previous answer for that.

Senator HRUSKA. You are asserting your privilege as to that?

Mr. GARRY. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Is there anything further, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I have nothing further.

Senator HRUSKA. The witness is dismissed.

Mr. MORRIS. The committee will have to decide what to do about the other three officials, the president, the business agent, and the financial secretary-treasurer of local 477.

Senator HRUSKA. We shall consult with the chairman of the committee, and make a decision in due time.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1:05 p. m., the subcommittee was adjourned.)

(The following editorial from the issue of August 10, 1957, of the Advocate, published in Newark, N. J., was later ordered into the record:)

#### THE SAD SINGER STRIKE

In Elizabeth they still talk about the "depression of 1949." That was the year of the ill-conceived, ill-planned, and ill-fated strike at the Singer plant, that crippled the economy of a city of well over 100,000 inhabitants for almost half a year. The strike began in late Spring and it did not end until some time in November.

This tragedy and misfortune for one of the largest cities in New Jersey occupied headlines very recently and recalled many bitter memories, when William Wallace, an ex-Red at the Singer plant, gave a startling account before the Internal Security Committee in Washington: "It was easy to get the plant out on strike. There were about 20 of us in the Singer Club (a Communist club) at the plant, and we pulled those 9,000 men and women out of that plant without any trouble at all. \* \* \* Five men could have pulled the plant out."



The most shocking feature of this testimony was the manner in which Mr. Wallace spoke of the ease of the project. There were 9,000 men and women at the plant, most of them from Elizabeth. They were all thrown out of work through the strike, and they remained out for a period of 168 days. During that time the city of Elizabeth lost \$54 million. Of this sum the business people of Elizabeth lost \$20 million, the company lost \$24 million, and the strikers lost \$10 million in wages. And that does not include the amounts the strikers had to extract from their savings accounts to buy the necessities of life. Along Elizabeth Avenue, which is one of the most busy thoroughfares, merchants were continually complaining that their day's receipts frequently amounted to \$2 or \$3.

And all this happened because the order had come from Moscow to call this strike, and the majority of union members were so docile and complacent, that the plan was carried out without too much difficulty.

The tragic part of the story is the bitter truth, that when the strike finally ended in November, the union got exactly the same contract they could have had in May without a strike.

How were the Reds able to accomplish such results with such fantastic ease? A partial answer was given by some of the strikers who in their ignorance or folly made this statement: "I don't care who runs the union as long as I get an extra buck in my pay envelope."

A story is told of a large auto plant somewhere in New Jersey, whose union members numbered over 2,200. The average attendance at a union meeting was 100 or less, and these were mostly Reds, near-Reds, fellow travelers, and pinkos. They became the officers of the union, they ran the meetings, they determined the policy—in short they ran the whole show. And while they were laying plans to cripple United States industry and sabotage the Nation, the so-called good, patriotic members (about 2,000 of them), were home on the meeting nights, looking at television, listening to the radio, or they went to the movies.

That is the price that the unions paid for their complacency and their indifference. Today the picture at Singer's is quite different. The IUE has displaced the UE, which was expelled as bargaining agent. They have made a serious effort to clean house. But, the sad fact remains that many men and women who are prominent in the IUE today, were asleep for a long time. Finally they were aroused to action, but only after a futile strike that had cost over \$54 million.

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

(Extent of Communist Activity in Labor)

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE  
UNITED STATES

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AUGUST 27, 1957

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**PART 82**

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# SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS OF  
THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:40 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding. Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel, and Frank W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Victor Teich is the first witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TEICH. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF VICTOR TEICH, FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND, ACCOMPANIED BY EPHRAIM LONDON, HIS COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name to the reporter?

Mr. TEICH. Victor Teich.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation?

Mr. TEICH. I am a tool and die maker.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you work?

Mr. TEICH. Waldes, Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are a union official, are you not?

Mr. TEICH. I am the president of the local union.

Mr. MORRIS. What union is that?

Mr. TEICH. Local 477 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are in that local?

Mr. TEICH. Approximately 1,000.

Mr. MORRIS. You are its president?

Mr. TEICH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been president?

Mr. TEICH. Since May of 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what has been your trade-union experience other than the fact that you are president of the local 477?

Mr. TEICH. Do you mean—

Mr. MORRIS. What other positions have you had in the trade-union movement?

Mr. TEICH. Well, I am chairman of my shop, if that is what you mean. Shop chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Before that, before your present position.

Mr. TEICH. I was a president of the local of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that local 1227?

Mr. TEICH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you identified with other unions?

Mr. TEICH. I was once a member of the National Maritime Union.

Mr. MORRIS. What year?

Mr. TEICH. 1943 to 1946.

Mr. MORRIS. From what college were you graduated?

Mr. TEICH. New York University.

Mr. MORRIS. What year?

Mr. TEICH. 1937.

Mr. MORRIS. You were born in New York?

Mr. TEICH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you active in the American Student Union in 1940?

Mr. TEICH. Not that I can recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you ever a member of the American Student Union?

Mr. TEICH. Yes; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. TEICH. As I recollect, I joined in about 1936, and I was active for a few years thereafter. I don't recall exactly when I left.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mr. TEICH. Mr. Morris, I want you to know that I am not a Communist. I belong to a union, the International Union of Electrical and Radio Machine Workers of America, whose constitution prohibits membership in the Communist Party for those who are officers.

Mr. MORRIS. The question was, Were you a Communist when you were active in the American Student Union in the late 1930's?

Mr. TEICH. Mr. Morris, I—Judge Morris, excuse me—I must decline to answer that question and, in so doing, invoke my rights under the Constitution, particularly with regard to the first amendment and with regard to that section of the Constitution that protects me against self-incrimination. I must also point out that I consider that question one that is not in the province of this committee to ask.

Mr. MORRIS. Do I understand you are not invoking your privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. TEICH. Excuse me?

Mr. MORRIS. Do I understand that you are not invoking your privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. TEICH. I am saying that I am invoking the Constitution and that section of it that protects me against self-incrimination.

I should make one point at this time, if I may. That is, I am sure you are aware that this provision of the Constitution was designed to protect the innocent as well as the guilty.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman overrules your refusal to answer on the basis of the first amendment, but we do respect the assertion of the rights under the fifth amendment, of the self-incrimination parts thereof.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were president of the UE Local 1227?

Mr. TEICH. I must decline to answer—

Senator HRUSKA. In the interest of saving time, Mr. Witness, if you want to you may say, the same objection, and I will give the same ruling.

Mr. TEICH. Same objection.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. You were president of the UE local until May 16, 1956, were you not?

Mr. TEICH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. On May 16, 1956, were you a Communist?

Mr. TEICH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. May 16?

Mr. TEICH. No; I was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on May 1, 1956?

Mr. TEICH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. On the 1st of January, 1956?

Mr. TEICH. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on the 1st of January, 1955?

Mr. TEICH. Same answer.

That is, the same objection. I decline to answer for the reasons given previously.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. In the interest of time, Counsel, is there a particular date?

Mr. LONDON. In the interests of time, and without waiving his rights by reason of giving this answer, I believe the witness will answer any question with respect to the period beginning November 1, 1955. He will decline to answer questions with respect to the period prior thereto.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I shall ask the question, were you a Communist on October 31, 1955?

Mr. TEICH. I decline to answer for the reasons previously given.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. You have publicly endorsed Israel Amter, the Communist candidate for Governor, have you not?

Mr. TEICH. I decline to answer for the reasons previously given.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The witness is dismissed.

Mr. MORRIS. Is your next witness here, Counsel London?

Mr. LONDON. Yes; Mr. Gilbert.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GILBERT. I do.

#### TESTIMONY OF SIDNEY GILBERT, BROOKLYN, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, EPHRAIM LONDON

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. GILBERT. Sidney Gilbert, 1589 East Ninth Street, Brooklyn.

I have a cold, so I hope you will excuse me if I don't speak up too loud.



Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think the record might show that the previous witness and this witness are represented by Mr. London.

Will you identify yourself for the record, Mr. London.

Mr. LONDON. I did before the hearing commenced.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. Business agent.

Mr. MORRIS. For what local?

Mr. GILBERT. Local 477, International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been business agent for local 477?

Mr. GILBERT. Since about May 16 or 17, 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. And what did you do before that, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. I was business agent of Local 1227, United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, known as the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, we have been told, Mr. Gilbert, by two witnesses, a Fred Gardner and a witness named Conroy, that you have been a member of the Communist Party.

Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GILBERT. I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am a member of the IUE, and as has already been stated here, the IUE has a constitution which bars Communists, Fascists, and other subversives from holding any positions of leadership in the organization. I have complied with that constitution for all the time I have been a member of this organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a Communist on May 16, 1956?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on May 1, 1956?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a Communist on January 1, 1956?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How about November 1, 1955?

Mr. GILBERT. Well, Mr. Morris, I understand that a witness by the name of Wallace—

Mr. MORRIS. William Wallace.

Mr. GILBERT. William Wallace appeared before this committee and—excuse me.

(Consults with counsel.)

Mr. GILBERT. I have decided to decline to answer the question on the grounds, first, that I do not believe that it is the province of this committee to make such inquiries; secondly, on the grounds that it is an invasion of my rights under the first amendment; and finally, because I wish to invoke the protection the Constitution gives me against self-incrimination.

Senator HRUSKA. The refusal to answer on any other grounds except the self-incrimination portion of the fifth amendment are overruled. The fifth amendment portion, to which I have referred, is allowed as a good basis for not answering.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know Fred Gardner? Did you know a man named Fred Gardner?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Jack Conroy?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Jack Conroy has told the Internal Security Subcommittee that, in 1953, he met with you in secret Communist Party meetings. Is his testimony accurate?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Gardner has said you were a dedicated member of the Communist Party.

Were you a dedicated member of the Communist Party?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to affirm or deny for the same reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect a tactical resignation from the Communist Party in order to comply with the IUE regulations?

Mr. GILBERT. I beg your pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you effect—did you bring about—a tactical resignation from the Communist Party in order to comply with the IUE regulations?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer, because your question assumes something which is contrary to what I stated before, which is that I am not a member.

Mr. MORRIS. That does not imply that you are a member now. I have asked you whether you effected a resignation from the Communist Party in order to comply with the IUE ruling.

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer for the reasons given before, and because your question assumes something that I never stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. However, you will not deny that you have been a member of the Communist Party in the past?

Mr. GILBERT. I decline to answer the question for the same reason that you are assuming something I never stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions, in view of the answers.

We have one more witness—Hans Schuttig is the secretary-treasurer of your local; is he not?

Mr. GILBERT. Yes, sir.

Mr. LONDON. We have been unable to locate Mr. Schuttig.

I would like to direct the committee's attention to the fact that this witness was not served with a subpoena. He appeared voluntarily because we were unable to reach him. He came in—broke his vacation period—and came in to testify. We have not been able to locate Mr. Schuttig.

Mr. MORRIS. Is he on vacation?

Mr. LONDON. Yes, he is.

Mr. MORRIS. We have had subpoenas out for almost a month for these witnesses.

I suppose you do a lot of traveling, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir. I have been trying to enjoy my regular vacation, which I planned for earlier this year. I have been on such vacation. I had been around for some 15 or 20 days since this committee announced they wanted to subpoena me. I wasn't subpoenaed during that time. While I was on vacation I heard that a subpoena was out for me, and I came in voluntarily to get it over with. I am supposed to be on vacation now.

Senator HRUSKA. Anything further?

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Where were you born, Mr. Gilbert?

Mr. GILBERT. Brooklyn, N. Y., the home of the Dodgers.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you required at any time to file a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. GILBERT. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Sirota?

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SIROTA. I do.

# TESTIMONY OF ALEX SIROTA, BRONX, N. Y., ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, ROBERT H. SILK

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. SIROTA. Alex Sirota, S-i-r-o-t-a.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation, please?

Mr. SIROTA. I am secretary-treasurer for my union.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your union?

Mr. SIROTA. Local 140 of the United Furniture Workers of America.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are secretary-treasurer?

Mr. SIROTA. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are in this local?

Mr. SIROTA. Approximately 1,500.

Mr. MORRIS. What international union are you affiliated with?

Mr. SIROTA. United Furniture Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been in the AFL-CIO?

Mr. SIROTA. Since the merger took place a year ago—about 2 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. The furniture workers were part of the CIO before the merger?

Mr. SIROTA. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you born?

Mr. SIROTA. Rumania.

Mr. MORRIS. In what year?

Mr. SIROTA. 1903.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. SIROTA. 1920.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you naturalized?

Mr. SIROTA. 1930.

Mr. MORRIS. In what court?

Mr. SIROTA. Bronx Supreme Court.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what has been your experience in the trade-union movement, Mr. Sirota?

Mr. SIROTA. What do you mean by "experience"?

Mr. MORRIS. What locals and unions have you been affiliated with?

Mr. SIROTA. This is the only union in which I have been an officer.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the first and fifth amendments. The first amendment, that it abridges my privilege of free speech and assembly; and under the fifth amendment, that I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair rules that the first objection, on the basis of the first amendment, is not good, but we shall recognize the validity of your assertion of rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. SIROTA. I plead the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. May the record show that Mr. Sirota is accompanied by counsel?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You will identify yourself, sir.

Mr. SILK. Robert H. Silk, 140 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Jay Peters, Mr. Sirota?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. He was head of the Communist underground for some time?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, you met him on November 16, 1946; did you not?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you have attended meetings of the State committee of the Communist Party of New York; have you not, Mr. Sirota?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer, sir, for the same reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with it in any way now?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you filed a non-Communist affidavit under the Taft-Hartley Act?

Mr. SIROTA. I did.

Senator HRUSKA. How many times?

Mr. SIROTA. Twice.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you remember the dates?

Mr. SIROTA. I don't recall the dates.

Senator HRUSKA. What year was it in?

Mr. SIROTA. I think it was in 1956, and it was renewed in 1957.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the date you signed those affidavits?

Mr. SIROTA. I was not a member of the Communist Party on the date when I signed the affidavit.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the day before you signed the affidavits?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party on the day after you signed each of those affidavits?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question for the same reasons.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you resign from the Communist Party on the day before you signed the affidavits in question?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you renew your membership in the Communist Party, or become affiliated with it, on the day after you signed the affidavits?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a member of the Communist Party, or affiliated with it, in 1930, when you were naturalized as a United States citizen?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer, Senator, for the same reason.



Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, have you been in Europe in recent years?

Mr. SIROTA. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. When was that?

Mr. SIROTA. In 1951.

Senator HRUSKA. Where did you go?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer, Senator, on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Is it true that you visited Russia?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. The same ruling will apply in each instance.

In the interest of saving time, I shall omit making the ruling each time.

Is it true that you visited Moscow?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer for the same reason.

Senator HRUSKA. How long were you in Europe?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you apply for a passport on April 6, 1951?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you leave the United States without a passport?

Mr. SIROTA. I couldn't have.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you?

Mr. SIROTA. No.

Senator HRUSKA. You had to have a passport, then, when you left America for Europe?

Mr. SIROTA. I suppose I did.

Senator HRUSKA. Did you apply for it?

Mr. SIROTA. I did.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you a Communist on the day you applied for that passport?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Are all the answers you gave in the passport application truthful answers?

Mr. SIROTA. I refuse to answer, Mr. Morris, on the same grounds.

Senator HRUSKA. Same ruling.

Mr. MORRIS. I think in view of the witness' responses, Senator, that I have no more questions to ask of this particular witness.

Senator HRUSKA. The witness is dismissed.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator, we have in connection with the Singer Sewing Machine strike—there were some names that came up in our records, Senator, that leaves the situation at present such as to suggest unfinished business. We have been asked if we will hear the testimony of three of these people by way of clarifying their present status.

I think if Mr. Brennan will come forward, we can proceed.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Brennan has already been sworn, so you may be seated, Mr. Brennan.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT WILLIAM BRENNAN, ELIZABETH, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Your name is what, Mr. Brennan?

Mr. BRENNAN. Robert William Brennan.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. BRENNAN. 730 Fay Avenue, Elizabeth, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. BRENNAN. My occupation is filer for the Singer Manufacturing Co., in Elizabeth, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are—you were—president of the UE local that organized the Singer Sewing Machine Co.?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you president of that UE local?

Mr. BRENNAN. I was president from approximately February 1949 to October 1950, when the IUE, in a National Labor Board election, took over the plant.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have not held office since that time?

Mr. BRENNAN. I have held two offices briefly, Mr. Morris. After this period I was steward for a while, and was later on chief steward of an assembly department.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were president of the UERMW at the time of the Singer strike in 1949?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Brennan, were you a Communist?

Mr. BRENNAN. I was a Communist, Mr. Morris, from around the end of 1948, or sometime in the early part of 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long did you remain a Communist? Technically?

Mr. BRENNAN. Technically, from in around June or July.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what year?

Mr. BRENNAN. Of 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened at that time?

Mr. BRENNAN. I was pretty much dissatisfied with some of the things that were going on previous to the strike, and some of the pressures that were brought to bear by, if I may say so, and I don't know, some of the professional Communists, of the outside influences that were brought in there, and that we tried to work with. I was dissatisfied with this element, and also dissatisfied with some of the things they were trying to do and some of the things they had done, and then, when the question of signing the affidavit arose, which was very essential to us at this time because, to a large extent our membership was split over the question, and many of us took the position that we should sign the affidavit——

Senator HRUSKA. You refer to the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit for union officials?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir, I do.

At that time—previous to this, I don't know just how long—a few weeks previous to the signing of the Taft-Hartley affidavit, I told the party members that I was definitely finished with this group as a Communist group.

I would like to——

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Brennan, did the requirement of the Taft-Hartley law accelerate this process you have just described, of separating yourself from the Communists?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir; this gave me a definite reason, without any ifs, ands, or buts, of quitting this Communist group, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, looking back to the past, it has a beneficial effect so far as you are concerned?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir; it certainly did.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you noticed that it had a beneficial effect on others? Can you give us any experience along those lines?

Mr. BRENNAN. Well, Mr. Morris, I can say it had a definitely better effect upon our membership, because we were in a crisis at this time, and it seemed to me that some of these people on the outside were working on the outside with us. I am speaking now of Barry and Cole, especially.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is that, Walter Barry?

Mr. BRENNAN. Walter Barry and Archer Cole.

Mr. MORRIS. They were Communists?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir; they were, as far as I knew. They were always trying to bring some issue up that would split us wide open. I disagreed with this wholeheartedly, and this is the thing that made me break away altogether, or as far as possible, I should say that.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you given orders by your Communist superiors?

Mr. BRENNAN. Mr. Morris, in the sense of the word, I was not given orders, but, say, in many instances, because I had to work with these people, because I didn't know the ifs, ands, and buts of this situation because I had never been in a situation like this before—I had to work with these people. They therefore brought pressures upon me where it was sometimes easier to go along with the pressures, hoping they would do the job in another field.

I hope that answers you, Senator. I may have mixed you up. If I did, I will try to answer it if you give me another question.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were the people putting pressures on you?

Mr. BRENNAN. The pressures, Mr. Morris, come from the representatives of the UE—I am speaking now specifically of Barry and Cole, who were working with the UE and directly with the local, and I am also talking about pressures brought about later by Mr. Poleshuk.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Poleshuk?

Mr. BRENNAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How about Sidney White?

Mr. BRENNAN. Sid White was publicity director for the local, sir. In other words, he put out a lot of the leaflets, a lot of the mimeographed stuff, a lot of the mailing, and he put together the newspaper.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there any doubt in your mind now, looking back, that this local was controlled by Communists?

Mr. BRENNAN. I would say that they had a terrific influence upon this local. But we always were having a fight, a knock-down, drag-out fight with these people on many of these issues, the decent trade unionists within the different caucuses within the different groups of the union, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was the Singer Communist Club?

Mr. BRENNAN. Mr. Morris, I would like to say for the record that I was a member of this club, and I will give you names of other people I knew as members of this club, but I would also like to state for the record that in becoming a Communist in late 1948 I never signed any card, I never made out any application, and I never paid any dues.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I don't think it is necessary for us to have the names in the record at this time. The fact that this is the last session in the present series, by putting the names in the record, in all fairness we really should be calling these people in. I don't think, Senator, we should continue on with this particular line of inquiry.

I think if you would give us those names in executive session, we would appreciate it, Mr. Brennan.



What was the Labor Youth League?

MR. BRENNAN. The Labor Youth League was a group that came into existence sometime during the strike. I mention the Labor Youth League, Mr. Morris, because at that time it brought forth a member as a leader of this group who nobody seemed to know—that is, by nobody, I mean myself and other officers and rank and file members, knew anything about.

MR. POLESHUK. Through what channel I don't know, because I wasn't too well acquainted—took over the leadership of this Labor Youth League, I believe it was.

To my knowledge, I don't believe it existed too long. I think it went out of existence—how long, I couldn't say, but within a short period. They got many of the younger people that were participating in the strike to join this Labor Youth League.

MR. MORRIS. Using it as a means of recruiting young people into the Communist organization?

MR. BRENNAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MORRIS. Now, have you anything to say generally about the Communist influence or the effect, the good or bad effect, of Communists on the labor movement? Was communism a bad thing for the labor movement, Mr. Brennan?

MR. BRENNAN. Yes, sir. If I may, I would like to tell you why.

Many times in the shop, this outside group—we had trade-union problems. I would like to say for the record that as far as this strike is concerned, it was a legitimate trade-union strike. The only thing that bothered me and some of the other people in the local that this time they, for some reason or other, refused to go along with the feeling of the general membership.

When I pointed out that I was thoroughly dissatisfied with these people when they refused to sign the Taft-Hartley affidavits and do away with the club, because I don't think the club was helping us—I think it was helping their own people. This is just one example of how they injected their propaganda in order to further their own means.

First it was the affidavits, then it was a break with the CIO, where the people in the shop wanted to go along with the CIO, where they refused to go along with the CIO.

Then it was these peace petitions, "Bring our boys back from Korea." We didn't agree with them whatsoever. I would like to say, Mr. Morris, time and time again when these peace petitions were ready, they wanted me to take them into the shop. I never took any petitions into the shop, and never signed any of the petitions, because I couldn't go along with their feelings. I was trying to do a job in the shop.

MR. MORRIS. Senator, we would like to thank Mr. Brennan for his testimony. People like Mr. Brennan are rare and hard to find. If we had more witnesses like Mr. Brennan, we could get to the bottom of this thing and clear it up.

At the same time, I would like to commend the president of local 461, Mr. Trueba for his cooperation in this matter.

Senator HRUSKA. I join in those expressions of appreciation, and we want to thank you, Mr. Witness, for making the contribution you have.



Mr. BRENNAN. I want to thank this committee for the opportunity to appear.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, Mr. Lipari is here. I don't think it is necessary to take his testimony publicly.

### TESTIMONY OF ALFREDO LIPARI, AVENEL, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. In the interest of time, am I stating the proposition properly?

You listen, will you, Mr. Lipari?

Mr. Lipari appeared in executive session. He had been named as a member of the Communist Singer Club. He told us he did join the Singer Club, stayed in it very briefly, didn't like it, and got out.

Is that right, Mr. Lipari?

Mr. LIPARI. That is right. I didn't know what it was anyhow. I didn't know how I got in there.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. I am advised that Mr. Poleshuk, whose name has come up in the course of these hearings, resigned from the Singer Sewing Machine Co. last month. Isn't that right, Mr. Trueba?

Mr. TRUEBA. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen him?

Mr. TRUEBA. No; I haven't. I was on vacation, Mr. Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Mr. Lipari, for coming down.

Mr. LIPARI. I thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. That finishes off, as best we can, this particular group. There is a woman named Schoen, whom we have tried to subpoena without success.

Now, there is one other piece of business, Senator. We have a request from Mrs. Frances Nusbaum to appear publicly in connection with a reference that has been made to her in testimony.

Is Mrs. Nusbaum here?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Mrs. Nusbaum has already been sworn.

Please be seated. Mrs. Nusbaum.

### TESTIMONY OF MRS. FRANCES NUSBAUM, NEWARK, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Mrs. Frances Nusbaum, 55 Goldsmith Avenue, Newark.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I am a housewife.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't have a profession?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Haven't you been connected with the Board of Education?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes; I was a member of the board for 3 years, from 1950 to 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are the wife of Dr. Marcus Nusbaum?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. He is a dentist?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And you reside at 15 Goldsmith Avenue?

Mrs. NAUSBAUM. No; 55 Goldsmith Avenue.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, William Wallace has testified that you were present at a meeting at the home of Dr. Tushnet.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Can we have these pictures taken first so I can concentrate?

Senator HRUSKA. The photographers will be given another moment or two.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. William Wallace, who was at the time a member of the Communist Party, said he attended a meeting at the home of Dr. Tushnet at Maplewood. There is some question as to the time of the meeting. I think we shall try to come to that.

He said most of the people present at that meeting were Communists, and he said it was a rallying meeting in the defense of three schoolteachers who had been identified as Communists and who were due to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee at that time.

Now, in executive session you took exception to the word "meeting." Did you attend this session at Dr. Tushnet's house?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes, sir, Judge Morris. As you know, I sent a statement to this committee which is in your possession. I would like to make that a part of the record first.

Then I would like to enlarge upon my answer concerning this meeting.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The statement was received yesterday, and it will be made a part of the record at this time. I might say that it appears to be very complete, Mrs. Nusbaum, and we are appreciative of your thoughtfulness in sending us your statement in advance.

It will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The statement by Mrs. Nusbaum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 490" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 490

NEWARK, N. J., August 23, 1957.

SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE,

Senator ROMAN L. HRUSKA,

Judge ROBERT MORRIS, *Chief Counsel*,

*Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: With your permission, I submit what I consider to be the pertinent facts relating to the matter before you.

I intend to testify fully and truthfully, to the best of my ability, to such questions as will be asked by this committee.

I am not a Communist. I have never been a Communist. I am not a Communist sympathizer.

It has been said by a witness that I attended a meeting at the home of Dr. Tushnet sometime in July of 1954. I was not at Dr. Tushnet's home in 1954. The witness is confused and in his confusion he has imagined events which never occurred, or else he speaks about an incident at which I was not present.

These are the facts. I read in the local newspapers that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was coming to Newark and that certain teachers had been subpoenaed to appear before it.

One evening in the early part of May 1955, Dr. Robert Lowenstein, with whom I was friendly, telephoned me and asked if I would attend a gathering at the home of Dr. Tushnet. He said that the teachers' difficulties would be discussed. I knew at that time that Dr. Lowenstein had been subpoenaed to appear before the committee. I knew him as a good teacher and knew that he had been recently recommended for promotion to chairman of the language department. I had never previously met Dr. Tushnet or his wife.

I told Dr. Lowenstein that I would attend. He furnished me with the doctor's address and I arrived at his home at about 9:30 p. m. There were a number of people in the living room. Most of them were strangers to me. The only person that I knew well at this gathering was Dr. Lowenstein.

It was said by the witness that I was the "prominent woman in Essex County" whose role it was to see Judge Bigelow since I was on "friendly terms" with him, to influence him to represent some of the persons who had been subpoenaed by the committee and to establish a climate to permit other prominent lawyers to represent some of the persons subpoenaed. This is not so.

I am informed by Dr. Lowenstein that he had previously retained Judge Bigelow. To the best of my recollection, the name of Judge Bigelow did not come up at all that evening. The fact is that I never, to this date, ever met or spoke to Judge Bigelow. I never discussed with him his representation of Dr. Lowenstein.

I have a sworn affidavit of Judge Bigelow in which he states that a fellow member of the bar asked him to represent Dr. Lowenstein and that to the best of his recollection he never met me and that he knows that I never contacted him in this matter or had any part in it.

I have been, I believe, a good citizen and a reputable member of my community. I have held various public positions. I was president of the Newark Chapter of Hadassah, the largest women's organization in the country—my chapter had 5,000 members. I served as chairman of law and social action for the Greater Newark Women's Division of American Jewish Congress. I am education and policy chairman of the Newark Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations. I am vice president of the Zionist Council of Essex County.

I have been unit chairman of the League of Women Voters, area chairman of the March of Dimes, supervisor of Womens' Activities of the city of Newark pool program, on the board of the Newark Citizens Housing Council, and other such groups. My family and I have been lifelong members of Temple Bnai Abraham, a conservative congregation of over 1,000 families.

Politically, I supported for public office the former mayor of our city; worked hard for the election of various National and State candidates; was co-chairman for fraternal activities for the election of Governor Driscoll, and held the same post in the last Essex County Republican campaign for State senator and the county ticket. In 1954 I was a candidate for elective office.

In 1950 I was appointed to the Newark Board of Education for a 3-year term. Both of my children were in the public schools and I was grateful for an opportunity to do something to improve the school system. I worked hard night and day in that unsalaried and often frustrating position. I learned a great deal about conditions in our schools and fought as hard as I could to better them. I made a great many lasting friendships with many teachers.

When one of these friends was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, I was deeply concerned and was glad to help him.

All that was done was to try to establish a fair climate in our community so that the hearings might be conducted without prejudice. I joined with many other individuals and organizations in the community, including the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action, Association of University Professors (Newark Rutgers Chapter), Essex County Intergroup Council, Jewish Community Council of Essex County, Newark Council on Human Relations, and the Urban League of Essex County.

Although I had nothing to do with obtaining counsel for Dr. Lowenstein if that was an objective I would have gladly participated in that effort. There certainly is nothing sinister or un-American in being represented by counsel. It just happens that I was not asked nor was it necessary for me to do anything in that direction.

The case of the school teachers is still unresolved. The matter is now again before the Newark Board of Education. It is probably only coincidence that my name came before your committee at this time, but there is a great deal of conjecture around town as to any possible connection between the two matters.

The newspapers reprinted the unverified statements of your witness concerning me before I could appear before you and answer them. The ensuing notoriety in the local press has caused me and my family unnecessary and unwarranted hurt and embarrassment.

I am the mother of 2 daughters, 1 a junior in college the other a second-year student in high school. My husband enjoys a fine reputation in his profession and in the community.



To those who are our close friends, no explanation is necessary. To those who do not know us well, no explanation will suffice.

I expect my Government to protect my security. It is my earnest hope that this committee will do whatever can be done too, in some small degree, repair the grave damage done to me and to my family.

Respectfully submitted.

FRANCES NUSBAUM.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I also want to say I appreciate this public opportunity to refute some of the things Mr. Wallace said about me. I read his testimony, and he was wrong about a number of things.

In the first place, he set the date of this evening a year prior to the time I had come to Dr. Tushnet's home for the first time.

Mr. MORRIS. When was the meeting?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. The meeting was early in the spring, I believe early in May of 1955. Mr. Wallace said it was in July of 1954, which was incorrect.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska has to leave. Do you mind going ahead? He has to vote on the floor.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I shall continue.

Mr. Wallace also said in his testimony that I had been——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go to the meeting?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Do you want to take each part of what he said separately?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I was invited one evening to come up to Dr. Tushnet's home. This was several weeks prior, I believe, to the coming of the House Un-American Activities Committee to Newark.

I was invited to come up because of my interest in the public schools, and the fact that three teachers had been subpoenaed by this committee.

I went to his home. It was in his living room, as casual a social gathering as you are usually invited to. There was conversation and discussion. There was no meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it held under any auspices, the Emergency Civil Liberties?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. It was definitely not held under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, or any other committee. It was purely an informal coming together of people to discuss something that was occurring in our town.

Mr. MORRIS. How did it come that you were attending?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. As I told you, I had been on the board of education for 3 years prior to this time. I was known in the community to be actively concerned with the public schools. I had made a great many friends among the teachers. One of these teachers who was my friend had been subpoenaed, so it was quite natural for him to call me. I said I would do whatever I could to help him.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Dr. Lowenstein.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a Communist, to your knowledge?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that he has been identified in the record as a Communist and that he claimed privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No, sir, he was never identified as a Communist. He took the fifth amendment and never answered that question.



Mr. MORRIS. Now, what took place at the meeting—I am sorry—the social gathering? That was your characterization.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes, Judge Morris, it was. It was not a meeting.

I am really not quite clear about what did happen that evening. I had been to a great many gatherings of that kind for various social reasons and others. It was a meeting where we discussed the impact this committee might have on the community and upon the schools. No action flowed from the meeting, no resolution, because it wasn't a meeting. It was purely a discussion of a brandnew situation that had happened in our town.

Mr. MORRIS. Most of the people there have been identified in our record as Communists.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I don't know—I knew very few—in fact, I didn't know any of the people there except Dr. Lowenstein, who had invited me. Then I was introduced to Dr. Tushnet and his wife, whom I met for the first time.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything else you want to tell us about the meeting?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes, there is a great deal I want to tell you in reference to what Mr. Wallace says about the meeting.

He said I was an intermediary between the Communist Party and Judge Bigelow. I have never been an intermediary for the Communist Party or for any other people, nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact, politically I have been as independent as I could. It is just coincidental that I have supported more Republicans than Democrats. I have supported them actively. I have had a political fling of my own. In addition to supporting candidates, you know I ran for elective office in Newark.

He also called me—he wasn't sure about my being a Communist—a Communist sympathizer.

Mr. MORRIS. He said he thought you were in sympathy with what they were trying to do.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I read his testimony very carefully. If he didn't call me a Communist sympathizer, the newspapers at home reported it as my being a Communist sympathizer. This I resent very much, because my record will prove that the greater part of my life I have been active in the Zionist movement, which is in support of Israel, which certainly could not make me active in the Communist movement, which is anti-Israel.

I have been active in Marshall aid and many things which the Communists are against. This is contrary to my political philosophy.

Mr. MORRIS. After you attended this meeting, did you do anything that would be helpful to Dr. Lowenstein or the other teachers?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Oh, yes, I did. We organized a committee of our own, just people. We called it the Newark Teachers' Defense Committee. We issued a pamphlet—I have a copy of it here which you might wish to see. The attitude we took in the community was explained in this pamphlet.

I worked with the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Veterans Committee, the Council of Churches.

Mr. MORRIS. How about the American Emergency Civil Liberties?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No, I did not. But we did get these other groups

together, including the Jewish Community Council, and the Urban League.

We held a large public meeting on Fifth Amendment and Academic Freedom and Constitutional Rights and so on.

Mr. MORRIS. You did this on behalf of what teachers?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. The three teachers that had been subpoenaed.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, inasmuch as they have been identified as Communists, does it not appear as if indeed you have been helping the Communists?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No, sir, this was not helping Communists. This was helping Americans and helping public schools, in my opinion.

I was very anxious that there should not be a spirit of suspicion about the public schools, that people's confidence in them should not be shaken, that teachers should not be frightened or intimidated. I was anxious to create a climate where they could be heard without hysteria.

One of the newspapers, the minute subpoenas had been issued, had carried on a crusade which was almost a lynching kind of crusade against them.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your position that Communist teachers should be left in the schools?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. As I told you in executive session, Judge Morris—

Mr. MORRIS. That is all right. This is a public record and you want this record. Therefore, some of these views you gave Senator Hruska, I think should be in the public record.

What is your position, then, if you would take this activity on the part of three persons who have been identified as Communists and haven't been able to deny it?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. In the first place, they were not identified as Communists at that time.

My position is the same as Senator Taft's position was, that competency in the classroom is the only yardstick by which you measure a teacher.

Mr. MORRIS. Even if they are Communists, they can be kept in the schools?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. If their record is good and their public conduct is good, I would not inquire into their political beliefs.

Mr. MORRIS. Communism is not exactly a political belief. It has certain fixed purposes, among which is to convert America into Soviet America. Is it your opinion that someone who is a full-fledged member of the Communist organization can be a good teacher?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I judge by the record of these teachers, or any teachers, if their supervisors and superiors and administrators have found them fit over the years, if they have not indoctrinated in the classroom, or propagandized—

Mr. MORRIS. How can you tell they have not indoctrinated in their classrooms?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I think you can tell. I think you can tell when any prejudice is shown by a teacher in a classroom. These teachers were not left alone. They are constantly being supervised.

Mr. MORRIS. When a supervisor comes around, if they are slanting their teaching, they would not do it when the supervisor is there?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Well, Judge Morris—

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I'm just getting your views.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. This is getting again into the realm of opinion. My opinion is, and I maintain that opinion, that if a teacher is competent and his public conduct is good, this would be all that I would judge him by in maintaining him as a teacher in the school system.

Mr. MORRIS. Therefore, the campaign that you described to us that you conducted on behalf of these teachers fitted into this view you have just given us?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes; and this was the view of the Council of Churches; it was the view of the Jewish Community Council; it was the view of the Essex Bar Association, and of a great many organizations in our community.

I also want, Judge——

Mr. MORRIS. Did you do anything about getting them legal counsel?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No; I did not. This was never even raised, as far as I was concerned.

In that connection, Mr. Wallace also said that I had gone to see Judge Bigelow. I deny completely ever having seen him——

Mr. MORRIS. I think he said they were trying to influence Dr. Bigelow through you.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes; he said I was on friendly terms with Judge Bigelow and therefore I would be the right person to go. I have an affidavit which I would also like to put into the record, signed by Judge Bigelow, denying, as I have denied, that I ever approached him, that I ever met him. I have never even had the honor of meeting Judge Bigelow.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sure the Senator will put it in.

Is there anything else about that meeting you want to tell us about, Mrs. Nusbaum?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. There is nothing about that evening that was——

Mr. MORRIS. What was discussed at the meeting—the social gathering, excuse me.

What took place there? I wonder if you would tell us?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I recall very vaguely. It was a very general discussion, as I have told you, about the coming of the committee, about the teacher situation and—it was not that kind of an affair where you took notes.

Mr. MORRIS. But you are sure that Judge Bigelow's name never came up?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. To my knowledge, it never came up.

As I also told you in my statement, I have been informed that Judge Bigelow had already been retained by Dr. Lowenstein before that meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. How long had you known Dr. Lowenstein?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Well, I have known him a great many years. I have known him well since I became a school board member in 1950.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about his standing in the community?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Well, he had a very fine standing in the community. I had known him through community work of various kinds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he active in community work?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes; he was around in a number of the things I was interested in.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell us some of the things he is known as doing?



Mrs. NUSBAUM. I can't specifically. I know I kept meeting him. I met him at the Jewish Community Center, in the Jewish programs. He was active in that. I was friendlier with his wife than with him. She was active in the community.

Mr. MORRIS. Did it come as a surprise to you that he was involved with the Communists?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. His subpoena came as a surprise to me. I didn't know anything about his involvement with Communists.

Mr. MORRIS. He has been dismissed as a school teacher?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. He was dismissed as having invoked the fifth amendment before the committee. Our State supreme court has found that that was not sufficient grounds for dismissing him.

Mr. MORRIS. Wasn't his reinstatement denied by the superintendent of schools?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. The superintendent of schools, also at the directive of the State supreme court, had heard the three teachers in what was supposed to be private executive session. Then the news of these sessions leaked out into the local press.

Mr. MORRIS. I think it was released publicly.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. It was released this week, but it leaked out a month ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you still a friend of Dr. Lowenstein?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Yes; I am.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you conducted any activity on behalf of him recently?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No; I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator Hruska is voting. If you don't mind waiting, Mrs. Nusbaum, until he gets back, he may have some things he wants to bring out.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Why, certainly.

Where do you want me to put this affidavit?

Mr. MORRIS. The Senator has to receive it into the record.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I see.

(A brief recess was taken.)

Senator HRUSKA. All right, we shall resume our hearing. I am sorry for the interruption, but we have higher loyalties, at least momentarily.

Will you proceed, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. I think, Senator, Mrs. Nusbaum had given her views on that meeting. They are all in the record now, and she has offered the affidavit of Judge Bigelow.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be received into the record.

(The affidavit referred was marked "Exhibit No. 491" and reads as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 491

STATE OF NEW JERSEY,

*County of Essex, ss:*

John O. Bigelow, being duly sworn on his oath says:

I am an attorney at law of New Jersey, with my office at 500 Broad Street, Newark. I appeared with Dr. Robert Lowenstein, as his counsel, before the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives on May 19, 1955, and have since then represented him in sundry proceedings and litigation arising out of his appearance before that committee.

A fellow member of the bar asked me to represent Dr. Lowenstein and when I consented to do so the doctor called and retained me. I was at the time chairman of the Civil Liberties Committee of the Essex County Bar Association and



it is likely that this fact had some influence in my being asked to accept Dr. Lowenstein as a client. I have never met Mrs. Frances Nusbaum to the best of my recollection and I know she never contacted me in this matter or had any part in it.

JOHN O. BIGELOW.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 29th day of July 1957.

DOROTHY STUMPF,  
Notary Public of New Jersey.

My commission expires May 5, 1958.

Mr. MORRIS. Mrs. Nusbaum, William Wallace was at the social gathering, was he not?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I have no recollection of his being there.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know what he looks like?

Mrs. NUSBAUM. No; I do not. I have never met him.

Mr. MORRIS. He is a tall, angular Negro man.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I have been told that, because I asked after that, too. But I have no recollection of his having been there. He may have been.

Mr. MORRIS. Several other people have told us he was there and he brought four Communist organizers with him.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. I am not saying he was not there. He may have been.

When I came in, people were introduced to me. I probably didn't pay close enough attention to names. I hadn't met any of those people before, and I just walked out, not knowing whether Mr. Wallace or anybody like that was there.

Senator HRUSKA. Are there any further questions, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator HRUSKA. Thank you very much for coming, Mrs. Nusbaum, and adding to our record.

Mrs. NUSBAUM. Thank you for this opportunity to refute Mr. Wallace's testimony. It has been very damaging because of the local press treatment of it.

Senator HRUSKA. This committee has the policy of opening its doors and making itself available for anyone who would like to come for that purpose. We are glad to have you.

Is there any further business?

Mr. MORRIS. There is quite a bit of unfinished business, but in view of the time and the exigencies of the situation, I think that is all at this time.

Senator HRUSKA. I would like to say that I have prepared a statement by way of summary of some of our activities, and particularly with reference to the hearings of these later weeks, a series of hearings pertaining to some of the trade unions.

A phase of the Internal Security Subcommittee's inquiries aimed at providing a basis for determination of the necessity, if any, for legislation to protect the internal security of our country, has involved the purposes and the activity of the Communists in the labor movement in the United States.

After reaching an eminence during the middle 1940's when they represented an effective force in labor, even to the extent of forming a base for a formidable mass Communist movement, the American representatives of the Soviet international organization began to lose some of their numbers and by 1949 and early 1950 had been the object of a house cleaning by major segments of American labor.

During the Korean war the political climate, tending to isolate those persons who owed their allegiance to the Chinese Communists because they represented a sector of the International, accelerated this process; and by 1953 they had descended to a low point in isolation.

The Communists were able, however, to maintain their control over important workers in the maritime industry on the west coast and in Hawaii; in the communications field in New York, where they continued to remain astride vital communication lines; in the mines that produce some of our most critical and strategic metals necessary for our defense; and in certain parts of our electronics industry.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the American Communications Association (ACA), the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (MMSW), and the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (UE) remained steadfast under Communist control.

This control was impressive and effective and insured minimal control of a portion of American labor which when the international crisis sharpened, would pose a very grave threat to our security.

The Internal Security Subcommittee has been accumulating evidence that the Communists have, since 1954, begun to expand this beachhead and to expand their impact in the American labor movement to the extent of invading the mainstream of American labor. The 16th annual meeting of the Communist Party in America, for instance, found the leaders of that portion of the worldwide Communist movement urging their members to avoid what they called left sectarianism and to join the mainstream of labor.

By this they meant that some of the Communists from the UE and other unions were to join the AFL-CIO. In addition to the documentary evidence of this we have taken testimony from former Communists that this has been the plan of the Communist leaders and we have called as witnesses many of the individuals involved in this transfer, and without exception no one of them has been able to deny our testimony, but invoked the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination.

During the past year we have confirmed that Communists are indeed astride the communication lines of our Government. Their hold on the ACA is unbroken. Harry Bridges, with his powerful labor empire, can choke the main channels of our lifeline to the Far East, and hold Hawaii, our Pacific bastion, in his vise. The subcommittee held hearings in Honolulu in November and December of 1956 and had confirmed the severest charges of Communist dominion in those lovely islands.

Moreover, we began to learn that the Communist unions, notably the UE, were becoming systematically proliferated and their members were issuing further into the mainstream of the AFL-CIO. We began to pile, brick upon brick, individual cases.

Since May 9, 1956, when we began to take testimony that Communists were moving into the mainstream of labor, we continually questioned witnesses who were identified as Communists. The evidence was taken partly in executive or secret session, partly in open session, and, in some few cases, by staff interviews. It is rare indeed when a subcommittee experiences not even one case wherein its evidence could be denied, particularly when it has dealt with scores of cases.

The only defense that the persons identified as Communists as of a particular time, usually in the middle 1950's, have used has been to invoke privilege covering the times of the identification, and to deny Communist membership at a later time, most often during 1956.

A factor in all of this has been the limitation of subcommittee evidence, as the subcommittee said in its annual report:

\* \* \* that it generally takes 3 or more years for a Communist agent or party member to disentangle himself emotionally from his past sufficiently to testify against the conspiracy. So our direct evidence is at best that old at its point of origin.

For instance, the UE, a Communist controlled union, saw certain of its locals transferred on May 17, 1956, to the IUE, AFL-CIO. The UE had been a powerful union whose membership reached more than a half million members at its peak. The subcommittee learned that certain of its leaders actually were members of the Communist Party as late as 1955. Such evidence is unusual in view of the difficulty surrounding the identification of Communist Party members.

When we began to question these people about this evidence we learned a remarkable fact, that six important officers of the IUE identified as experienced Communists were unable to deny Communist Party membership as of May 16, 1956, but did deny membership as of a day later.

The implied coincidence of six veteran Communists having changed their circumstances in 1 day so as to be able to deny as of May 17, 1956, that which they could not deny as of May 16, 1956, poses an underlying condition that certainly reflects a planned defense. Experienced Communists just don't change their allegiance when they change their jobs.

In the Communist conspiracy as such, coincidences such as here implied do not take place. The situation suggests very strongly a tactical resignation from the Communist Party in view of the changed facts.

Very often the evidence showed, particularly with reference to the United Auto Workers, that the witnesses, after acknowledging party membership up to a certain date, denied it thereafter but affirmed facts justifying a conclusion brought out by one of the officers who characterized himself as a fellow traveler.

One such instance was that of the editor of Ford Facts, the publication of local 600, the largest of the UAW locals. This editor acknowledged that he had been a Communist in the past; under questioning, however, he conceded that he had been attending Communist meetings since that time. The rationale of his attempted justification for attending these meetings proved to be the claim that he was attending Communist front meetings in order to take photographs of these meetings. He contended that he was hired by the Communists in order to take pictures for a profit. That Communists should employ a man who professed to be an ex-Communist and a person out of sympathy with the Communist movement, to take pictures of them in the intimacy of their meetings, was never adequately explained to the subcommittee.

In all of our activities in this area the box score of the hearings looks like this:

During the course of the inquiry by the Internal Security Subcommittee from May 9 of this year to date, 39 witnesses have asserted



constitutional privilege under the first and fifth amendments; 14 persons affiliated with the International United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), AFL-CIO; 11 persons affiliated with United Auto Workers (UAW), AFL-CIO; 6 high-ranking officers and members of the American Communications Association (ACA); 4 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), AFL-CIO; 1 member of the United Furniture Workers of America; and the Secretary-Treasurer of the ILWU, Louis Goldblatt, all have taken the first or fifth amendment before the subcommittee when asked about the committee's evidence regarding their participation in the Communist organization.

My own conclusion after taking the testimony is that the Communists are indeed infiltrating the mainstream of American labor. They are using the present stage of the world struggle to infiltrate. They are now preparing for the phase ahead, whatever it is. And if the Communists are able to use the present period of time to extend their base of operations, our own problem will become more serious.

It seems to me that the Communist Control Act of 1954 is inadequate and must be amended. It demands a standard of proof that is almost impossible to achieve. Other legislation must be enacted to realistically meet the challenge of the changing Communist tactics. We see too that there is much to suggest that there have been violations of the non-Communist affidavit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act and I am asking that the National Labor Relations Board examine our record in certain cases to determine if there have been such violations.

I am also asking the Department of Justice to look into the immigration status of certain of the witnesses who testified before us. Finally, the whole record of these hearings will be considered by the subcommittee in its annual report.

That constitutes my statement in summary at the conclusion of this series of hearings.

Is there anything further, Judge Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator, not at this time.

Senator HRUSKA. I want to say in closing these meetings for this session, that the subcommittee is very appreciative of the cooperation of its staff. They have done very fine work and have labored long and well. The subcommittee is grateful for their assistance.

Since there is no further business, the subcommittee is adjourned. (Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the hearing was adjourned.)





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